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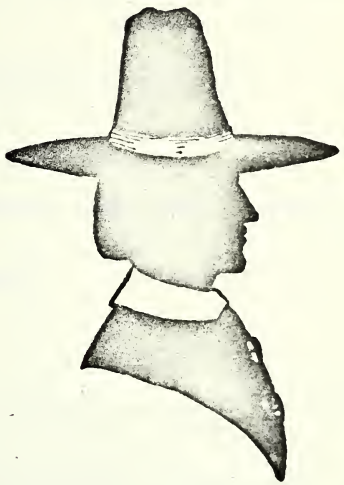
THE MASSACHVSETTS MAGAZINE



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Devoted to Massachusetts History Genealogy Biography

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THE
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MAGAZINE

The Massachusetts Magazine

A Quarterly Magazine Devoted to History, Genealogy and Biography

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CORRESPONDENCE of a business nature should be sent to *The Massachusetts Magazine*, Salem, Mass.

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THE LIBRARY OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

By Agnes Edwards

One of the most impressive and valuable historical libraries in the United States is housed in Antiquarian Hall, the headquarters of the American Antiquarian Society, in Worcester, Mass. A two-story building of red brick and white marble, with a marble dome and marble columns, it is set in dignified spaciousness on a large, quiet lot, well out of the center of the town. The reason that Worcester was chosen for its location, rather than Boston, was explained by the sagacious founder as being "for the better preservation from the destruction so often experienced in large towns and cities by fire, as well as from the ravages of an enemy, to which seaports, in particular, are exposed in time of war." Not only in placing it inland, but in making this latest and most elaborate home of the society absolutely fireproof, has every precaution been taken to protect those priceless volumes, manuscripts and antiques which have been so discriminately and widely collected since the society was founded, by Isaiah Thomas, in 1812.

The present building is the fourth home of the institution, so rapidly has it grown in its little over a century of existence. Now scholars and research workers from all over the world may find a congenial and stimulating atmosphere in which to study, with every convenience—adequate room, privacy, heat, light and scrupulously attentive service.

Entering the rotunda, lighted by the great central dome, one responds instantly to the atmosphere of tranquility. The gleaming high columns of Siena marble, the gray tone of the walls, the choice pieces of old furniture—including John Hancock's clock, one of the tallest and handsomest in this country, standing serenely on the landing of the winding white stairway, chiming out each quarter hour—all infuse their quota of mellowness and dignity. Although the Museum—of which the society was once justly proud—has been wisely distributed among other institutions—there are still sufficient historical relics both to furnish the building and to serve for exhibition purposes. Perhaps before we begin a survey of the actual departments of the library we may, by walking through the building, catch something of that spirit of reverence for the past which actuates the founding and the maintaining of all such organizations.

At the right of the main entrance stands the splendid old desk at which John Hancock often stood to write: in the white panelled "council room" are a dozen or more of his dining chairs, flawless in their ancient, graceful silhouette. Secretaries belonging to Governor Leverett, Governor Belcher and Governor Bowdoin are placed in useful and effective places, while upstairs one sees John Hancock's double chair—a choice specimen of carving, unique in this country and quite worth a special trip to Worcester. Richard Mather's high chair—he who was grandfather of Cotton—stands firm and sturdy, as does the venerable printing press on which Isaiah Thomas learned the trade, and on which the "Massachusetts Spy" was printed for many years. At the time of the battle of Lexington it was hastily conveyed to Worcester, so that the issuing of the paper might not be interrupted. There are many interesting curios here, whose history would easily expand into another article. We must omit them, but it is not possible to tear ourselves away without a glance at the collection of dark blue Staffordshire ware, which was presented to the Society by Mrs. Emma DeFrance Morse. This extraordinary set—without question the most complete of its kind in existence—presents many American views which are not preserved in any

other form. It is only a few pieces short of the requisite three hundred, and is not only of immense interest to all lovers of pottery, but supplements effectively the Society's collection of American prints.

But the American Antiquarian Society is not a body of collectors of antiques. It is a scholarly institution of the highest possible rank, to which the greatest historians of our country have belonged, and it is due to its specialization along certain lines that it has made itself a vital contributor to our national history.

Beginning with Isaiah Thomas, the founder—justly ranked as one of the most liberal minded men of his day—and continuing down to the present librarian, Clarence S. Brigham—distinguished as editor, author, and contributor to historical and genealogical magazines—the society has consistently maintained one aim.

This aim, emphasized in the past half dozen years, is to collect everything printed in this country before 1820. This date was chosen because it included the establishment of printing presses in most of the smaller towns, because it covers the Jeffersonian Period, the War of 1812 and the Era of Reconstruction, and marks the beginning of stereotype printing. The value of such a collection to the student of early American history, literature, law, medicine, theology, education, and science is apparent. Obviously such an accumulation falls into three general classes: newspapers, books and manuscripts. It is through its files of early American newspapers that this library stands supreme. The founder of the Society, as editor of the "Massachusetts Spy", had exceptional opportunities to acquire early colonial journals. In fact, in the preparation of his famous work "The History of Printing in America" he obtained specimens of practically all the newspapers in the country. All of these he turned over to the society when he became its president. As the ambition has been to obtain unbroken files of all the American newspapers throughout the Civil War, the magnitude of the task needs no emphasizing. Although the early files are not entirely complete, every day brings fresh acquisitions—such as the comparatively recent purchase of the "Alexandria Gazette" covering a period of a hun-

dred and ten years, and of the "Reading Adler," long honored as the oldest German newspaper in this country, covering one hundred and seventeen years. Among the longer of the earlier files are:

New Hampshire Sentinel, 1799-1873
New Hampshire Patriot, 1809-1876
Boston News Letter, 1704-1763
Boston Gazette, 1720-1798
Boston Post, 1735-1775
Massachusetts Spy, 1770-1904
Providence Gazette, 1763-1825
Connecticut Courant, 1776-1916
New York Gazette, 1765-1800
New York Weekly Journal, 1733-1750
New York Herald, 1794-1908
American Weekly Mercury, 1719-1746
Pennsylvania Gazette, 1736-1810
Reading Adler, 1796-1913
Maryland Journal, 1773-1796
Alexandria Gazette, 1799-1911

Since 1870 about three dozen journals,—representing characteristic sections of the country—have been kept! But even the most rigid paring cannot stem the enormous flood of papers which crowd in daily for a place upon the shelves, and which require two special floors, with capacity for 14,000 volumes. No other libraries—except the Congressional and the Wisconsin Historical—have even attempted any such task. Now, arranged alphabetically, as regards state and town, and also chronologically, these files are accessible to anyone. A bibliography of them is also being prepared. Here, too, one's attention is called to the growing collection of South American and West India newspapers.

The manuscript department, in a large room with 562 running feet of shelving, is most important. Following is the list of some of the most significant and treasured pieces.

Interleaved almanacs from 1774 to 1828, containing the diary of Isaiah Thomas. Chiefly of interest because of its allusions to Worcester events, and the founding and early years of the Antiquarian Society. Six hundred letters addressed to Thomas. As first president of the society, Thomas was a national figure, and there are very few editors today who possess a correspondence of such national concern.

Diary of John Hull, Mint Master of Massachusetts in 1652. Valuable for its facts concerning the coinage of the 17th century.

Note book of Thomas Lechford of Boston, 1638-1641. This is the daily record of the work done in the office of the only professional lawyer in the colony. Lechford's duties brought him into close relations with people of every class, and his notes throw light on the social questions and customs, local geography, points of family history, and the development of the political life of the country.

The manuscripts of the Mather family, comprising several hundred manuscripts and including letters, diaries, sermons and essays. Under Richard Mather there are several important papers on church government from 1635–1657 and a large number of manuscript sermons. For Increase Mather there are his diaries, covering approximately 1659–1721, written in interleaved almanacs. Also his biography written for his children and few miscellaneous essays. Cotton Mather is represented by a dozen diaries, nearly three hundred letters and many treatises on religion, theology, medicine and morals. Included also in the collection are a few manuscripts of less noted members of the Mather family.

The Cotton manuscripts. Aside from several volumes of notes and accounts, this collection contains over 700 individual manuscripts written by early New Englanders from 1640 to 1775.

Next comes several groups of manuscripts dealing with the long struggle between England and France for the possession of the American continent. This includes:

Miscellaneous muster rolls and papers from 1726–1731. Robert Hale's journal of his voyage to Nova Scotia 1731. Sir William Pepperrell's journal of his expedition against Louisburg in 1745.

Manuscripts of Sir William Johnson in regard to the closing years of the French War.

Eleven orderly books or diaries for the same period.

Orderly book of William Henshaw in regard to expedition against Fort Edward.

Much Revolutionary War material including:

40 orderly books, letter books and similar matter.

Military papers of Brig. Gen. John Nixon and Maj. Gen. William Heath.

Correspondence of Stephen Kemble, John Beatty and Egbert Benson as to British and Loyalist prisoners.

Various petitions from single regiments and groups of officers to their respective states or to Continental Congress.

The reply of the garrison at West Point to Washington's farewell address, Nov.. 10, 1783.

Important autographs and letters of Adams, Hancock, Jefferson, Sherman, Livingston, Rodney, Trumbull, Washington, Greene, Schuyler, Lord Stirling, Gates, Conway, Charles Lee, Burgoyne, Carleton, etc.

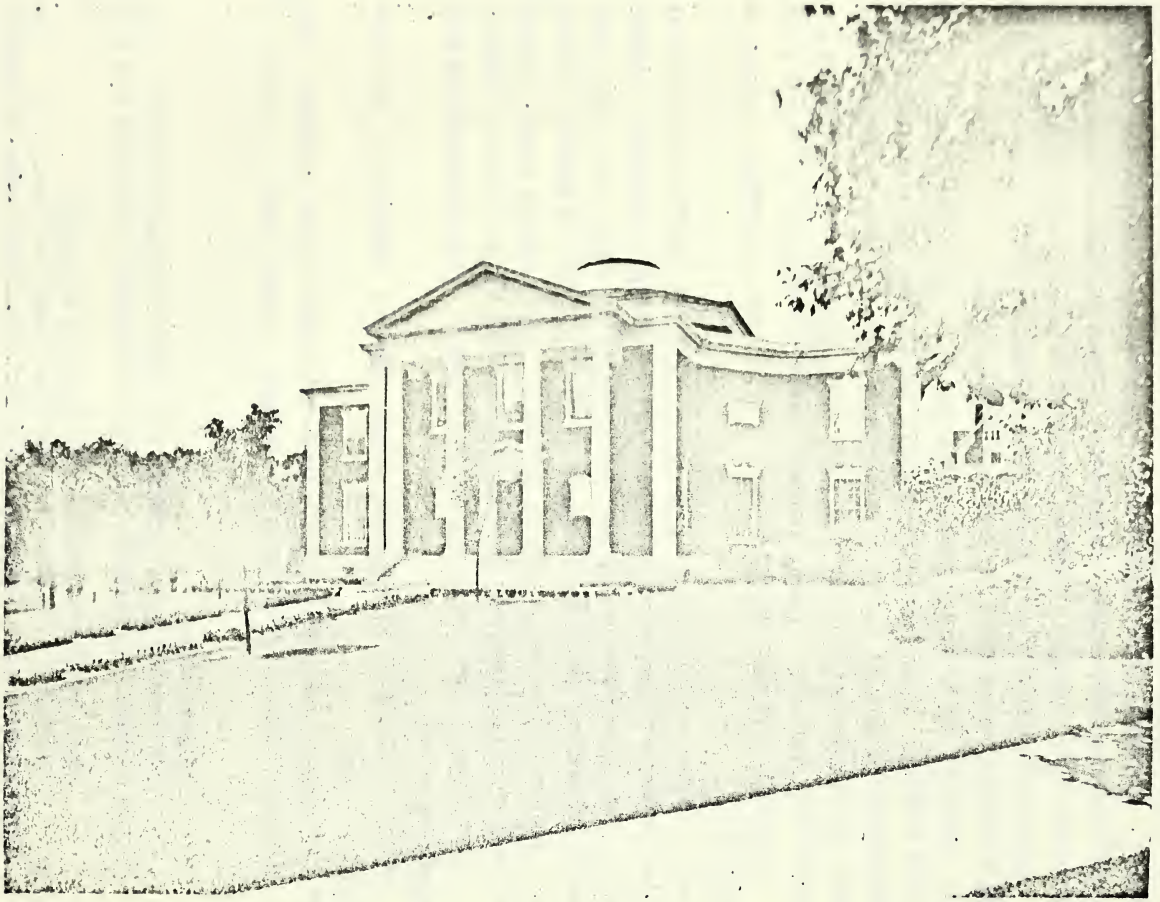
The Bentley manuscripts, 1783–1819, including 38 bound volumes of accounts and notebooks, a 13-volume diary and over 1500 miscellaneous letters. These letters are from some of the most distinguished heads of cities, states and universities in the country.

The Craigie papers, a 6-volume collection, descriptive of the settlement of the Ohio Valley and the rise of the Scioto Company.

The Burr collection, including letters of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton, Sherman and Morris, and many other famous statesmen.

The Lincoln collection, in two parts, touching local, state and national affairs.

The Merrick collection, throwing much light on the Anti-Masonic movement of 1830.



HOME OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY IN WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

The John Davis Collection, including notes and plans of political campaigns, outlines of speeches, legal arguments, etc. Also many autograph letters from leaders of the Whigs.

The Salisbury Collection, pertinent to economic conditions and trade relations in New England in 18th and 19th centuries. Over 10,000 letters.

Here, too, must be mentioned the original vellum bound "Records for the Council for New England from 1622–23"—one of New England's most precious books.

Many of the more noteworthy of the society's manuscripts have been published in full.

Next in value must come the Mather library. This assemblage of early volumes is carefully housed in a special room of its own, and is undoubtedly the oldest and rarest in New England. These quaint brown volumes, chiefly theological and largely written in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, contrast oddly with the modern white fire proof shelves on which they are ranged. From the gray panelled walls portraits of the five Mathers—Richard, Increase, Cotton and the two Samuels—look down upon the intruder with reserved aloofness.

After the Mather collection we turn to the unusually profuse assortment of almanacs. These sidelights upon our national life have a separate and commodious room, and have been classified and catalogued in a most scholarly way by Dr. Chas. L. Nichols, who has made a special study of the subject. There are about 6000 of them, from all parts of the country—including about 5000 issues before the year 1850, and showing a majority of those published in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Next in importance must come the rich aggregation of early text books. There are about 10,000 volumes, including a shelf of old shorthand text books, and the most unique assortment of old American arithmetics in existence. Naturally, this department is invaluable to students of pedagogy.

The library is also especially strong in early publications of the United

States Government, in early American Bibles, hymn books, psalm books and Indian Linguistics. Among these should be mentioned:

Both editions of Eliot's Indian Bible.
Several Early Indian Tracts.
The Bay Psalm Book of 1640, the first book printed in this country.
The 1649 edition on the Cambridge platform.
Secretary Rawson's copy of the Massachusetts laws of 1660.
First Edition of Lewis Bailey's "Practice of Piety" translated into the English tongue by Eliot.
Cicero's Cato Major, printed by Benjamin Franklin.

The list of "first books" possessed by the Society is extraordinarily interesting. As for instance:

Echantillon, par Ezechiel Carre, 1690. The first French book printed in this country.
Truth Advanced, George Kieth, 1694. The first book printed in New York.
"La Fe del Christiano," 1699. The first book printed in this country in Spanish.
The Saybrook Confession, 1710. The first book printed in Connecticut.
Barclay's Apology, 1729. The first book printed in Rhode Island.
The Englishman Deceived. Sayre, 1768. The first book printed in Salem.
Narrative of King's Troops. Isaiah Thomas. The first book printed in Worcester.
Discourse by Bereanus Theosebes, 1786. The first book printed in Maine.
The first public library catalogue printed in this country. (Harvard College, 1723)
The Saur Bible, 1743. The first Bible printed in this country in a European language.
Vindication, by Ethan Allen, 1770. The first year of Vermont printing.
The Aitken Bible, 1789. The rarest American Bible.
The Thomas Bible. Worcester 1791. The first folio Bible printed in English in this country.

Another point in which this library is very strong is in its county and town histories of the United States. The New England Historical and Genealogical Society attempts to get every local history published east of the Alleghenies. Harvard College Library has recently begun to collect the local history of certain Western States. But at Antiquarian Hall is the only library which aspires to gather all the histories, including the Southern States, the far West, etc. The collection of New York and Pennsylvania local histories is the largest in New England.

The department of Spanish Americana is growing, and includes works on Mexico, Central and South America, Mexican Indian Dialect and early Mexican imprints and bibliography, most of them printed in foreign tongues.

The print and map room is particularly fascinating. Situated in the west wing on the second floor, it contains fireproof cabinets, which can hold 30,000 flat pieces, and here are some of the earliest maps and prints of this country. They are constantly being referred to, either personally or through correspondence, by students all over the country. The broadsides are numerous, and include:

The proclamation by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts, regarding the first newspaper (1690);
A great mass of Revolutionary broadsides;
A considerable number of Fast and Thanksgiving day proclamations.
Three volumes of songs and ballads of the War of 1812.

Lovers of bookplates will be interested to know that among the 3500 examples which this library possesses is probably the earliest recorded American bookplate in existence. The label bears the words "William Brattle, his book. 77." As William Brattle graduated from Harvard in 1680, one can reckon the antiquity of this book plate. There are many specimens of the plates of Spenceley, French and Sidney L. Smith, and also of some of the most famous American bookplate engravers before the Revolution, among them, Nathaniel Hurd and Paul Revere.

The collection of tradesmen's currency or copper tokens of the Civil War period is unusually fine. There are about 1900 varieties, comprising

about 1550 advertising tokens, and 350 general tokens,—an invaluable aid to any student of the economic history of the Civil War.

One extremely useful feature of this library is the fact that it is a depository for the Library of Congress cards. Adding about 40,000 annually, it thus enables one to refer instantly to the title and author of nearly every book published in this country in recent years.

No mention of the American Antiquarian Society is complete without mention of its publications—in two series, the Transactions and Proceedings. The Transactions were established in 1820; the Proceedings in 1839. A list of some of the subjects treated in these two publications will indicate the nature of their scope. Of the Transactions:

Volume 1 includes "Descriptions of the Antiquities of Ohio and Other Western States:" valuable for its accuracy of text and plans;
Hennepin's Discovery of the Mississippi.
Johnson's Indian Tribes of Ohio, with vocabularies.
Sheldon's "Account of the Caraibs of the Antilles."
Volume 2 includes Gallatin's "Indian Tribes of North America."
Daniel Gookin's "Historical Account of the Christian Indians of New England."
Volume 3 prints Records of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay from 1628 to 1630 and the diaries of John Hull.
Volume 4, 1860, contains "Original Documents, illustrating the history of the Colony of Jamestown."
Narration of a Voyage to Spitzbergen in 1613.
A reprint of Wingfield's Discourse on Virginia.
Josselyn's "New England Rarities Discovered."
Volumes 5 and 6 form the second edition of Thomas's "History of Printing in America."
Volume 7 prints the note-book of Thomas Lechford, 1638–1641.
Volume 8, the Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the Society, 1829-1835, a charming pen picture of the period.
Volumes 9 and 10 publish the diary of Isaiah Thomas, 1805–1828.
Volume 11, Manuscript Records of the French and Indian War."
Volume 12, Royal Proclamations concerning America, 1606–1783, printed from the originals in various archive repositories in England.

The following list, selected from the varied contributions to the proceedings, will show the wide range of the papers and the distinguished writers who have been proud to add to this notable publication.

Notes on the Laws of New Hampshire: Albert H. Hoyt.
Burgoyne's Surrender: Charles Deane.
Bibliography of Indian Dialects: J. Hammond Trumbull.
Bibliography of Yucatan and Central America: A. F. Bandelier
The Office of Tithingman: Herbert B. Adams.
History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts. George H. Moore.
Archaeological research in Yucatan: Edward H. Thompson.
Estimates of Population in the American Colonies: Franklin B. Dexter.
Illustrated Americana, 1493–1624, and of the Revolution: James F. Hunnewell.
The Navigation Laws: Edward Channing.
Dr. Saugrain's Journal, Ohio River, 1788: Eugene F. Bliss.
Early American Broadsides: Nathaniel Paine.
Early New England Catechisms: Wilberforce Eames.
The Andros Records: Robert N. Toppan.
The Roger Sherman Almanacs: Victor H. Paltsits.
Early Spanish Cartography of the New World: Edward L. Stevenson.
New Jersey Printing in the 18th Century: Wm. Nelson.
List of Massachusetts Almanacs, 1639–1850: Charles L. Nichols.
List of Connecticut Almanacs, 1709–1850: Albert C. Bates.
Royal Disallowance of Colonial Laws: Charles M. Andrews.

Antiquarian Hall has, in common with other libraries of this type, many genealogies, etc. But it has made its country-wide reputation by specializing in certain departments. It may be well to summarize these briefly again before we close:

The unusually dignified, pleasing and convenient building, with its 33,400 running feet of shelves—over six miles—with a total capacity of about 200,000 volumes.

The remarkable completeness of the newspaper files and American imprints up to 1820.

Its valuable and significant manuscripts.

The Mather Library—the oldest in New England.

Its collection of Almanacs.

Early School Books.

Early American Bibles, hymn and psalm books.

Maps and Prints

Early American Broadsides.

Bookplates, including the earliest recorded one in America.

The published series of the Transactions and Proceedings.

The student at the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester will find here volumes of incalculable value to him, properly arranged and catalogued, and he will be favored by careful attention from the librarian and assistants.

The more casual visitor, who, perhaps, has no definite business in such a place, cannot help but enjoy a glimpse of this handsome and scholarly institution, beautified by its well chosen furnishings and made charming by the hospitality and wide culture of its hosts.

The membership of the American Antiquarian Society, which is entirely honorary, and obtainable through invitation only, candidates being elected for prominence in historical research, is as follows:

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Alphabetically Arranged

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Wilfred Harold Munro, L. H. D.	Providence, R. I.
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Thomas McAdory Owen, LL.D.,	Montgomery, Ala.
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William Pendleton Palmer . .	Cleveland, Ohio.
Victor Hugo Paltsits	New York, N. Y.
Rev. Henry Ainsworth Parker, A.M.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D.,	Pennypacker's Mills, Pa.
George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D.	New York, N. Y.
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*Charles Henry Taylor, Jr. .	Boston, Mass.
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Allen Clapp Thomas, A. M.	Haverford, Pa.
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Charles Grenfill Washburn, A.B.,	Worcester, Mass.
Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn.,	Cambridge, Mass.
Barrett Wendell, LittD. . .	Boston, Mass.
Leonard Wheeler, M. D. . . .	Worcester, Mass.
Andrew Dickson White, D.C.L	Ithaca, N. Y.
Albert Henry Whitin . . .	Whitinsville, Mass.
Woodrow Wilson, LL.D . .	Washington, D. C.
*George Parker Winship, A.M.	Providence, R. I.
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Henry Ernest Woods, A. M .	Boston, Mass.
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COLONEL MOSES LITTLE'S REGIMENT

Colonel Moses Little's 24th Regiment, Provincial Army, April-July, 1775—Colonel Moses Little's 17th Regiment Army of the United Colonies, July-Dec. 1775

By Frank A. Gardner, M. D.

This regiment was composed entirely of men from Essex County towns. Colonel Little's time of enlistment is given as May 1, 1775, and his adjutant, Stephen Jenkins, and Quartermaster, Thomas Hodgkins, three days later. The following petition shows that the regiment was organized in the last days of May.

"To the Honble Committee of Safety for the Colony of Massachusetts Bay

Gentlemen

We the Subscribers, being Captains of the Companies now enlisted in the Service of the Government have made Choice of Capt. Moses Little to be our Chief Colonel, and Major Isaac Smith to be our Lieutenant Colonel, & have agreed that.....shall be our Major. We beg that your Honors will be pleased to direct or recommend that the aforesd Persons may be commissioned as officers over us & your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Cambridge, May 25, 1775.

	No. of Men
Joseph Gerish	59
Ezra Lunt	61
Nathl Warner	59
Abraham Dodge	70
Nathl Wade	59
Benjn Perkins	75
John Baker	59
	422

N. B. Capt. Collins, Chairman of this meeting of choice has now a company of 59 men
422 in ye whole 481."

The following entry appeared in the records of the Third Provincial Congress under date of June 2, 1775.

"To Colonel Samuel Gerrish.

A number of gentlemen have presented a petition to this Congress in behalf of themselves and the men they have enlisted, praying that Capt. Moses Little and Mr. Isaac Smith may be appointed and commissioned as two of the field officers over them. Six of the said petitioners are returned by you as your captains, as appears by your return, and the petition has been committed to a committee to hear the petition and report to the Congress; and it is, therefore, ordered, that the said Colonel, Samuel Gerrish be notified and he is hereby notified to attend the said committee at the house of Mr. Learned in Watertown the 3d day of June instant, at eight o'clock in the forenoon.

Read and accepted and Capt. Thatcher was desired to carry this resolve to Colonel Gerrish this evening."

On the following day this entry was made.

"The committee on the petition of Jacob Gerrish and others reported verbally: agreeably to which report.

Resolved, That the petition be so far granted, as that the petitioners be directed to apply to the committee of safety, for a recommendation to this Congress, to commission Capt. Moses Little as colonel of a regiment in the Massachusetts army."

In the records of the Committee of Safety under date of June 10, 1775 we read "About five or six weeks past Mr. Greenleaf applied to this committee, desiring that the men raised in and about Newbury might not be annexed to Col. Gerrish's Regiment, or any other where it would be disagreeable to them. He afterward applied to this committee respecting said men, and desired that the eight companies enlisted upon orders issued by this committee, through Col. Gardner's hand, who have since petitioned

in favor of Col. Little's taking the command of them, might be put under him as colonel of a regiment. We then found that we had given orders for as many regiments as would complete the establishment made by this colony, and therefore did not give Colonel Little any orders to raise a regiment, but promised if any vacancy should happen he should have the preverence. We find said companies were early in the field, have done duty ever since, and are very well equipped."

June 13, 1775 Colonel Little, with seven other colonels, "to make a true return to the committee on the claims and pretensions of the several gentlemen claiming to be commissioned as colonels; of the number of captains, with their respective companies, do choose to serve under the above named gentlemen as colonels; and of the number of effective firearms in each company and of the place or places where said companies are: and pain of forfeiting all pretentions to a commission as colonel, in case of making a false return."

The report concerning Colonel Little's regiment June 15, 1775, was as follows:

"That the said Little has raised eight companies, according to General Ward's return, amounting, inclusive of officers, to the number of 509 men who choose to serve under him as their chief colonel; and all the said men are armed with good effective firelocks, and 382 of them with good bayonets, fitted to their firelocks; and that seven of the said companies are at a camp in Cambridge and one company at Cape Ann, by order of the Committee of Safety."

"To the Honorable Provincial Congress of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

May it please your honours Agreable to your Resolve of the 13th Instant I hereby make a Return of the several Companies hereafter named as returned to me.

Captain Jacob Gerrish, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 2 fifers, 45 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Abraham Dodge, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 fifers, 59 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Ezra Lunt, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 2 fifers, 45 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Benjamin Perkins, 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants 4 corporals, 2 drummers, 2 fifers, 59 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Nathaniel Wade, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 51 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain Nathaniel Warner, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 fifer, 47 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain John Baker, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 2 fifers, 47 privates. In Cambridge.

Captain James Collins, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 46 privates. In Gloucester by order of the Committee of Safety.

Captain Gideon Parker, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 1 drummer, 1 fifer, 57 privates. All ready to march from Ipswich by Credible Information.

Totals, 9 captains, 13 lieutenants, 9 ensigns, 36 sergeants, 36 corporals, 9 drummers, 14 fifers, 456 privates.

Total number of men 582.

Moses Little, June 15, 1775."

The work performed by this regiment on the 17th of June is shown in the following quotation from "Ould Newbury."

"At the Battle of Bunker Hill he (Colonel Little) led three of his companies across Charlestown Neck, under a severe fire from the British batteries and ships of war, reached the scene of action before the first charge of the enemy, and was present throughout the entire engagement. His men were posted in different places—a part at the redoubt, and a part at the breastwork, and some at the rail fence A fourth company came upon the field after the battle began. Forty of the regiment were killed or wounded.

In a list appearing in 4 Force II, 1628, the statement is made that seven were killed and 23 wounded."

"Officers in Collo. Little's Regiment

Isaac Smith, Liut. Colo.
James Collins, Maj'r.

Jacob Gerrish, Capt.
Silas Adams, Liut.
Thomas Brown, Liut.

Nath'l Warner, Capt.
John Burnum, Liut.
Daniel Collins, Liut.

Nath'll Wade, Capt.
Joseph Hodgkins, Liut.
Aaron Parker, Liut.

Abraham Dodge, Capt.
Ebenezer Low, Liut.
James Lord, Liut.

John Baker, Capt.
Caleb Lamson, Liut.
Daniel Dresser, Liut.

Ezra Lunt, Capt.
Moses Lunt, Liut.
..... Montgomery, 2d Liut.

Benj'n Perkins, Capt.
Joseph Whitemore, Liut.
William Stickney, Liut.

Gideon Parker, Capt.
Joseph Eveley, Liut.
Moses Trask, Liut.

Joseph Roby, Capt.
Shubel Gorham, Liut.
Enoch Parsons, Liut.

Timothy Barnard, Capt.
Paul Lunt, 1st Liut.
Amos Atkinson, 2d Liut.

Moses Little, Collo.

June 25, 1775."

The following table shows the towns represented in this regiment:

Captains Colo. Moses Little's Regiment.
Gideon Parker, Ipswich, Gloucester, Newbury, Cape Ann, Salem.
Nath'l Warner, Gloucester and Cape Ann.
Abraham Dodge, Ipswich.
Joseph Roby, Cape Ann.
Benjamin Perkins, Newburyport.
Jacob Gerrish, Newbury, Newburyport, Rowley, Ipswich, Hollis (N. H.) and Boscawan.
Ezra Lunt, Newburyport.
Nathaniel Wade, Ipswich, Boston.
Timothy Barnard, Amesbury, Newbury, Newburyport, Ipswich, Portsmouth (N. H.) York.
John Baker, Topsfield, Ipswich, Rowley, Beverly, Danvers, Wenham, Gloucester.

In the records of the Committee of Safety, June 26, 1775, we find the following entry;

"Col. Moses Little, having made a return to this committee of a lieutenant colonel, major, ten captains and twenty lieutenants, it was recommended to the Honorable Congress that they be commissioned accordingly."

In the Third Provincial Congress, June 26, 1775, it was "Ordered, That commissions be delivered to the officers of Col. Little's regiment agreeable to a list recommended by the committee of safety."

July 3, 1775 twelve small arms were delivered to Colonel Moses Little for the use of his regiment. This total value was placed at £26:05:04, and the following day four guns were delivered Colonel Little for the use of this regiment, valued at £9:02:00, and on the fifth of July ten small arms valued at £18:07:04.

"A Petition of Colonel *Moses Little*, setting forth that several of his regiment have not as yet received their months advance pay, was read, and committed to Mr. *Greenleaf*, Colonel *Bowers* and Mr. *Johnson*."

(Massachusetts House of Representatives, Aug. 7, 1775.)

"*Ordered*, that Colonel *Moses Little*, who has received from the Ordnance Store, in *Cambridge*, forty-five Fire Arms, which were procured for Colonel *Nixon's* Regiment, in consequence of a request from the Hon. General *Lee*, do return them to the Committee appointed to receive and dispose of the Arms collected from the Several Towns in the Colony."

(In Council, August 9, 1775; Read and Concurred.)

"Abstract of the Muster Roll for the Field and Staff Officers of the Seventeenth Ridg't of Foot in the Service of the United Colonies, Commanded by Coll. Moses Little.

Men's Names	Town	Rank	Time of Enlistment	Time of Service
Moses Little	Newbury	Coll.	May 1	3 mo., 8 d.
Isaac Smith	Ipswich	Lt. Coll.	May 19	2 mo. 18 d.
James Collins	Gloucester	Major	May 19	2 mo. 18 d.
John Cleaveland	Ipswich	Chaplain	July 1	1 mo. 3 d.
Stephan Jenkins	Newburyport	Adjt.	May 3	3 mo. 6 d.
Thos. Hodgkins	Ipswich	Quar. Master	May 3	3 mo. 6 d.
Elisha Story	Malden	Surgeon	June 30	1 mo. 4 d.
Josiah Lord	Ipswich	Surgeon Mate	June 15	1 mo. 19 d.

Moses Little, Colo."

This list of service for 1775 was made out in Camp on Prospect Hill, March 16, 1776.

"The Petition of *John Story*, setting forth: That he was appointed by the late Congress, as sub-Commissary under Mr. *Pigeon*, to Colonel *Little's* Regiment, that he faithfully attended on the said Regiment, and on Mr. *Pigeon*, from day to day, in order to discharge the trust committed to him, from the middle of June to the 1st of August, as appears by the annexed account and certificate, for which he received no allowance. He therefore prays your Honours would be pleased to order that he be paid the amount of his account for his trouble, and such a sum for his expense your honours may think proper.

Resolved, That there be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury of this Colony, to the said *John Story*, the sum of five Pounds five shillings, in full of his Account for serving as sub-Commissary to Colonel Little's Regiment." (Mass. Council, April 10, 1776.)

This regiment was located at Prospect Hill through the remainder of the year.

The following shows the strength of the regiment during the different months of the year:

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Co.	Rank&File	Total
June 9, 1775	27*		85†	400	512
July 1775	33	5	53‡	472	563
August 18, 1775	24	5	42	528	599
Sept. 23, 1775	29	5	50	478	562
Oct. 17, 1775	23	5	38	519	585
Nov. 18, 1775	25	4	34	520	583
Dec. 30, 1775	25	4	36	499	564

*Field Officers not included
†Including Corporals, drummers and fifers
‡Including sergeants, fifers and drummers.

Fourteen of the officers of this regiment had seen service in the French war, four of whom held the rank of captain, two were ensigns and one was chaplain.

The officers of this regiment attained rank in the Revolution as follows: 1 brigadier general, 3 colonel, 2 lieut. colonel, 2 major, 12 captain, 10 first lieutenant, 6 second lieutenant, 2 surgeon, and 1 chaplain.

COLONEL MOSES LITTLE of Newbury, son of Moses and Sarah (Jaques) Little, was born in Newbury, May 8, 1724. In 1748 he built a house which is still standing, a picture of which is shown in Currier's "Ould Newbury," opposite page 541. July 13, 1757 he was a member of Major Joseph Coffin's Train band, 3rd Company of Newbury. In February 1762 he was Captain of the 5th Newbury Company in Colonel Joseph Gerrish's

2nd Essex County Regiment. He was a delegate to the Essex County Convention held in Ipswich on the 6th and 7th day of September, 1774, one of the four representatives of the town of Newbury. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a company of Minute Men serving five days. A petition dated Cambridge, May 27, 1775, signed by Jacob Gerrish and six other captains, stated that they had chosen Moses Little as Colonel and Isaac Smith as Lieutenant Colonel, and the recommendation was made that they be commissioned. In a muster roll made up in August, the date May 1st, was given as the one on which he was engaged. July 2d, he was appointed officer of the day, and again July 15th. During 1776 he served as Colonel of the 12th Regiment of the Continental Army. He went with the army to New York, and was at the Battle of Long Island. He held command at Fort Green, and was in the Battle of Harlem Heights. During the winter of 1776-7 he was in command of a regiment in the campaign of Peakskill, but in the following spring was forced to return home on account of illness. June 10, 1777 he was commissioned Brigadier General and his name appears in a list of officers appointed to command forces to go on an expedition to St. John, N. S. (now N. B.)

The following letter is preserved in the archives:

"Boston, June, 1777

I this morning rec'd your fav. acquainting me with the Honor done me by the General Assembly of this State in appointing me to the Command of the Forces destined for Nova Scotia. I feel myself very sensibly affected by this mark of their esteem & am extremely sorry that the broken State of my own health occasioned by the severe Services of the last Campaign & the peculiar Situation of my Family at this time, oblige me to decline the honourable appointment. With my best Wishes for the Success of this Expedition, & my warmest acknowledgment to the honourable Court,

I am, Sir

Yr. mo. hum. etc.

Moses Little.

In Council June 19, 1777.

Read and sent down. Jno. Avery,

Dept. Secy."

He was for several years surveyor of the King's woods, and acquired by grant and purchase large tracts of land in Vermont and New Hampshire. He owned at one time a large part of what is now Androscoggin County in Maine, and also owned a large amount of land in Newbury. He served as representative to the General Court. He had a shock in 1784, but he lived until May 27, 1798. The sword he used at Bunker Hill and his commission in the Continental Army are preserved in his old home on Turkey Hill.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL ISAAC SMITH of Ipswich was the son of Joseph and Johanna Smith. He was baptised in that town, May 7, 1721. From September 9, 1755 to January 1756 he was Captain of a Company in Colonel Plaisted's Regiment on a Crown Point expedition. June 7, 1765 he was Captain Lieutenant of Colonel's 1st Ipswich Company, in Colonel Samuel Roger's 3rd Essex County Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Major in Lieutenant Colonel Michael Farley's 3rd Essex County Regiment, serving three days. May 10, 1776 he was engaged as Lieutenant-Colonel in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and he served through the year in that rank. January 23, 1776 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives to serve as commander of one of the six regiments raised to serve before Boston, until April 1, 1776. He received his commission May 13, 1776. In June 1776 he was chosen to command a regiment for service at New York. He died in Ipswich November 29, 1799 aged 78 years "in May."

MAJOR JAMES COLLINS of Gloucester was the son of Ebenezer Collins and was born in that town November 26, 1724. He lived on the family estate on Sandy Bay Road. It is said that he commanded a ship before the Revolution. May 19, 1776 he was commissioned Major in Colonel Moses Little's regiment and he served through the year under that commander. During 1776 he was Major in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. April 24, 1777 he was chosen Colonel of the 6th Essex County Regiment, and his name appears as Colonel of the same regiment in Brig-

gadier General Jonathan Titcomb's Brigade in a return of officers dated July 5, 1779. Babson in his History of Gloucester states that he was the "Captain James Collins" who commanded a privateer of eighteen guns, and captured on a cruise, a ship called "Lady Gage." He also states that upon his return home he was offered command of a privateer ship "Cumberland." This was in 1777. Babson further states that he probably sailed in this ship in 1778 and that neither ship or crew were ever heard from. The wives of forty young men of Portland "The Flower of Portland," being made widows. In as much as we have the records as above given, showing that he commanded the 6th Essex County Regiment in 1777 and 1779, it would seem that the shipmaster of the same name must have been a different man. In the "Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution" the entire military record above given is credited to one man of this name, while the naval record is given separately.

ADJUTANT STEPHEN JENKINS of Newburyport was the son of William and Martha Jenkins and was baptized in that town May 20, 1753. His father was vestryman of St. Paul's ten years earlier. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Third Lieutenant in Captain Moses Nowell's Company May 3, 1775 he became Adjutant of Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he held that rank under that officer through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. From October 14th to November 30, 1777, he was Captain in Colonel Samuel Johnson's 4th Essex County Regiment. May 8, 1778 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Thomas Poor's Regiment, and he served in that regiment up the Hudson until February 18, 1779. October 18, 1779 he was commissioned Captain as shown by a "list of officers to command men detached from militia to reinforce the Continental Army." He served until November 22nd of that year.

QUARTERMASTER THOMAS HODGKINS of Ipswich was the son of Stephen and Elizabeth (Harris) Hodgkins. He was born in that town February 15, 1746. He was probably one of the three men of that name who

marched in the ranks from Ipswich on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 3rd of that year he was engaged as Quartermaster in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and served through the year. He was probably the man of that name of Ipswich who was engaged July 10, 1778 as First Lieutenant in Captain John Robinson's Company, "Captain" William Turner's Regiment, serving 4 months, 25 days in Rhode Island. He died in Ipswich, June 11, 1794, aged 50 years.

CHAPLAIN JOHN CLEAVELAND of Ipswich was the son of Josiah and Abigail (Paine) Cleaveland. He was born in Canterbury, Ct., April 11, 1722, and became a distinguished divine. He entered Yale College in 1741 and his degree was granted him later "as of the class of 1745." He was ordained pastor of a new church in Ipswich, February 25, 1747. He was Chaplain in Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment in General James Abercrombie's expedition in the French and Indian War and was at Fort Edward, Louisburg, etc. July 1, 1775 he became Chaplain in Colonel Moses Little's 17th Regiment, Army United Colonies and he served through the year. January 23, 1776 he was chosen Chaplain in Colonel Isaac Smith's Essex County Regiment raised to serve before Boston until April 1st of that year. He had "blue eyes, florid complexion, was 6 feet tall, his voice was heavy and of great compass." Reverend James Emmons said of him that he was "a pattern of piety and an ornament to the Christian and clerical profession." He was for fifty-two years pastor of the church of Chebacco. He died in Ipswich, April 22, 1799, aged 77 years.

SURGEON ELISHA STORY of Malden was the son of William and (Elizabeth Marion) Story. He was born in Boston, December 3, 1743, and received his instructions in the Boston Latin School, under the renowned Master Lovell. He was a sturdy Whig and Republican and one of the squad of the "Sons of Liberty" who destroyed the tea in Boston Harbor. June 30, 1775 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel Moses Little's 17th Regiment, Army United Colonies, and he served through the year in this organ-

ization. During 1776 he was Surgeon in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regment in the Continental Army. After his military service he was sent by the authorities at Boston to the town of Marblehead, the request having been sent from that town that a physician well acquainted with smallpox be sent to them to combat the extensive epidemic. The certificate which he carried with him showed that he had served two years with Dr. Mathe, a physician of distinction in Connecticut, and four years longer with Dr. John Sprague of Boston. After the disease had subsided Dr. Story remained at Marblehead in response to the urgent request of the people. Judge Story described the Doctor's personal appearance as follows: "He had been a handsome man in his youth, with blue eyes of singular vivacity, eye-brows regularly aslant, a fine nose, and an expressive mouth; he possessed great blandness of manners, approaching to elegance. Not a man of genius but of plain practical sense and a keen insight of the deeds of his fellow men; he made but a modest pretention to learning. He was very efficient and successful in his practice." He died in Marblehead August 22, 1806. His portrait appears as frontispiece in the October 1914 number of the Essex Institute Historical Collections.

SURGEON'S MATE JOSIAH LORD of Ipswich was engaged to serve in that rank in this regiment June 15, 1775, and he served through the year. In a list of officers in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army, his name appears as Surgeons' Mate in that regiment. (5 Force III, p. 541-2.) February 14, 1776 he was chosen Surgeon of Colonel Isaac Smith's Regiment, and served before Boston until April 1, 1776. He died suddenly in Ipswich May 12, 1794, aged 43 years.

COMMISSARY JOHN STORY was the son of William and Joanna (Appleton) Story and half brother of Dr. Elisha. In a petition addressed to the council, signed by William Story of Ipswich, it was stated "that said John Story, his son, had been appointed in 1775 by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, Commissary to Colonel Little's Regiment and had

attended 'day to day' upon the Commissary of the Colony, waiting for particular directions; that he had later rendered an account to the General Court for his service and a resolve making an allowance therefore had been passed by the House of Representatives but had not been concurred in by the Council; and requesting that the last named party would be pleased to concur with the Honorable House and make an allowance as compensation for said John Story, who had engaged in the Continental Service, and proceeded to New York after the passage of the Resolve above referred to; warrant allowed in Council May 9, 1776." "He joined the ordnance department as conductor of military stores in March 1776. In September 1776 he was appointed pay master of Colonel Hitchcock's 11th Regiment. June 1, 1777, he became Brigade Quarter Master under General Glover and four months later Deputy Quarter Master General with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, under General Nathaniel Greene. He held that office until November 1780 after which he served in the Quarter Master General's department. In September 1781 he was appointed Aide-de-Camp to General Lord Sterling and held that position until his commander's death in 1782. He was much respected and beloved." He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

CAPTAIN JOHN BAKER of Topsfield, son of Captain Thomas and Sarah (Wade) Baker, was born in Topsfield, November 23, 1733. He was a commissioned officer in the French and Indian War, but owing to the identity of names it is impossible to definitely give his record. April 24, 1775 he became Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and he served through the year, his age at that time being stated as forty-one. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. He died in 1815, aged nearly eighty-two years, and in the Vital Records of Topsfield the statement is made that he "served and was commissioned in the French War which commenced in 1755 and commanded a company in 1775 and 1776 in the Revolutionary War."

CAPTAIN TIMOTHY BARNARD of Amesbury was the son of Timothy and Tabathy Barnard. He was born in that town March 8, 1741. May 25, 1757 he was a private in the 1st Amesbury Company under Captain George Worthen. In the following year he was a member of Captain Samuel George's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment. April 10, 1759 he was Ensign in Colonel Joseph Gerrish's Regiment on an expedition for the invasion of Canada. From November 2, 1759 to December 7, 1760 he was Ensign in Captain Samuel George's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment at Louisburg. He served as Lieutenant in Captain Henry Young Brown's Company from March 4th to November 23, 1762. July 11, 1771, he was Captain in the North Division of the 2nd Regiment of Militia in Essex County, under Colonel Jonathan Bagley. April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company on the Lexington alarm from East Parish, Amesbury, and five days later became Captain of a Company in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, serving through the year, his age being given as thirty-five years. Captain Timothy Barnard died in Amesbury August 13, 1797, aged 57 years.

CAPTAIN ABRAHAM DODGE of Ipswich, son of William and Rebecca Dodge, was born in that town August 17, 1740. From April 13th to November 20, 1758 he was a private in Captain Andrew Fuller's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, serving at Lake George. He served as Second Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Dodge's Company, on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. January 1, 1776 he became Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. "Colonel" Abraham Dodge died in Ipswich June 16, 1786, aged 46 years.

CAPTAIN JACOB GERRISH of Newbury, son of Colonel Joseph and Catherine Gerrish, was baptized in Byfield, February 11, 1739. (Born February 9, 1738 [9]). He was a private in the 2nd Company of Militia of

Newbury, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel "Josh" Gerrish (year not given, probably 1757). On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a company from Newbury. Five days later he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain of a company in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. During this year he was accused of "misbehavior in the presence of enemy" and was tried by court-martial, but the charge was pronounced "entirely groundless" and General Washington approved the finding. Elwell in his "History of Byfield" states that he was at Bunker Hill, White Plains, Princeton, Trenton, commanding the left wing in the last named battle. In a return dated November 25, 1777, his name appears as Colonel of a Regiment of Guards, and this same rank is shown in muster rolls dated January 22, 1778, and in still later ones in which his date of discharge is given as December 12, 1778. April 23, 1779 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, Colonel of a Light Infantry Regiment, to be raised for the defense of New England. October 18, 1779 he was commissioned Colonel of a Regiment detached from the militia of Suffolk and Essex Counties to reinforce the Continental Army. This service continued until his discharge. November 22, 1779. He died in Newbury, February 18, 1817, "almost 78."

CAPTAIN EZRA LUNT of Newburyport was the son of Matthew and Jane (Moody) Lunt. He was born in Newburyport, April 10, 1743. In May 1774 he started the stage coach line from Newburyport to Boston, leaving Newburyport Mondays and returning on Thursdays. He sold out this route the following year, and May 2, 1775 became Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, serving through the year. During the 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Henry Jackson's 16th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and served in that organization until April 9, 1779. At this date several regiments were incorporated into one and he appears in a list of the supernumerary officers. A warrant dated January 29,

1781 shows that he held the rank of Major, serving as "Issuing Commissary of small stores." In May of that year he was called "State Clothier." In the history of the Lunt family it is stated that he commanded a company in Shay's Rebellion and served for several months in the Western part of the state. After the war he had an inn holder's license. In 1789 he removed to Ohio, and died in 1803 The family historian states that he was "the first man in Newburyport to volunteer for service at the breaking out of the Revolution."

CAPTAIN GIDEON PARKER of Ipswich served as a private in Colonel Thomas Berry's Regiment in October 1755. Later in that year he was an Ensign in Captain Isaac Smith's Company, Colonel Icabod Plaisted's Regiment. From February 18th to December 22, 1756 he was a Captain in Colonel Ichabod Crane's Regiment at Fort William Henry. In 1758 he was Captain in Colonel Nichol's Regiment, and from May 9th to November 14th, 1759 commanded a company on an expedition to Quebec. He was continuously in service in command of a company from April 18, 1761 to December 20, 1762, the latter part of this record being endorsed by Lieutenant Colonel Jotham Gay. In an account dated March 10, 1763 a bill was rendered for travel "on from Halifax." He was probably the man of that name who served as a private in Captain Daniel Roger's Company which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and served through the year. January 1, 1776 he became a Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. He died in Ipswich, February 10, 1789.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN PERKINS of Newburyport was the son of Matthew and Anna (Greenleaf) Perkins. He was born December 8, 1749. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Moses Nowell's Company, and on March 9th was engaged as Captain in Colonel Little's Regiment, serving through the year. In a

Company return dated October 1775 his age is given at twenty-six. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army He died in Newbury, March 9, 1797.

CAPTAIN JOSEPH ROBY of Gloucester was engaged May 29, 1775 to serve as Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he held that rank through the year. In a return dated October 1775 his age is given as twenty-four years. No further record of service has been found.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WADE of Ipswich was the son of Timothy and Ruth (Woodberry) Wade. He was born in Ipswich February 27, 1750. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he commanded a company of Minute Men, which marched to Mystic, and on April 20th was ordered to Salem, and on the 21st to Ipswich, from thence to headquarters at Cambridge. May 10, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Little's Regiment. He was present at the battle of Bunker Hill, and was among those who lost articles in that engagement. He served through the year in this regiment, and during 1776 was Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. He was president of a Court-martial held at Philip's Manor, according to a statement dated Chatham, February 4, 1777. May 4, 1777 he was chosen Major in Colonel Danforth Keyes's Regiment, raised for the defense of Boston Harbor. July 23rd of that year he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. February 27, 1778 he was chosen Colonel of a regiment formerly commanded by Colonel Keyes, raised for service in Rhode Island. The regiment "numbered 837 rank and file." He served until his discharge, January 4, 1779. June 4, 1780 he was chosen Muster Master for Essex County. July 6, 1780 he was commissioned Colonel, his name appearing in a list of officers detached from the Essex County Brigade to reinforce the Continental Army for three months. His service expired Oct. 10, 1780. November 27th of that year he was again chosen Muster Master for Essex County. In 1786 he commanded a regiment against the insurgents under Shays. He was for many years Colonel of a reg-

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iment in Middle Essex. He was County Treasurer for a long time, and representative from 1795 to 1816, inclusive. When General Lafayette was introduced to him in 1824 he is said to have clasped his hand and exclaimed "My dear Sir, I am rejoiced to see you. It was just such a stormy night when I met you in Rhode Island." Felt in his history of Ipswich states that while "he lived, his benevolent manners and actions secured him high and extensive esteem." He died in Ipswich, October 26, 1828, aged 77.

CAPTAIN NATHANIEL WARNER of Gloucester, was the son of Philomen and Mary (Prince) Warner. He was born about 1744. May 2, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and served under that officer through the year. January 1, 1776 he was appointed Captain in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. April 25th, 1777 he was chosen Captain of a Company of matrosses, to be stationed at Gloucester. March 24, 1778 he was commissioned Captain of a Sea-Coast Company at Gloucester. January 29, 1779 his appointment as Commander of the Sea-coast Company at Gloucester was again ordered in Council. Babson, in his "History of Gloucester" states that "after the retreat from Long Island he left the Army as he had not received promotion as he expected.....he was a very brave officer; and might have attained distinction if he had not allowed his anger to overcome his patriotism." He died in February 1812, aged 68.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SILAS ADAMS of Newbury, son of Robert, Junior and Anne (Jaques) Adams, was born in Newbury, February 16, 1741-2. He was a cordwainer by trade. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched to Cambridge as First Lieutenant in Captain Jacob Gerrish's Company. Five days later he enlisted in the same rank under Captain Jacob Gerrish in Moses Little's Regiment and served through the year under those officers. His name also appears in the same rank under the same Captain in a list of officers in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army, in 1776. He died in Newbury, November 15, 1800, in his 59th year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN BURNHAM of Ipswich, son of Samuel and Martha (Story) Burnham, was born in Ipswich December 10, 1749. He was a shoemaker in Gloucester during the early part of his life. May 2, 1775 he enlisted as First Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Warner's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment. He received his commission, June 27, 1775. His age, on a return made in October of that year was given as 25 years. He served through the year under the above named officers and January 1, 1776 was commissioned in the same rank in Colonel Moses Little's 12th Continental Reg't. He was in the Battle of Long Island and served in the campaign following in New Jersey. He was in the Battle of Trenton in the capture of the Hessians. January 1, 1777 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Michael Jackson's 8th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He went to Gloucester and raised a company and was ordered to lead it to the Northern Army "up the Hudson." He was in all the actions through to the surrender of Burgoyne and during the following winter was with his regiment at Valley Forge. In 1779 he was in the Battle of Monmouth and at the storming of Stony Point. In 1780 he served first under Lafayette and then under General Greene, and was at the Seige of Yorktown in 1781. In 1782 he was with his regiment up the Hudson, and his Company, the Company of Light Infantry of the 8th Massachusetts Regiment, attained such proficiency that the General's orders contained the following:— "The Commander-in-chief (General Washington) did not think he ever saw a company under arms make a more soldier-like and military appearance than did the Light Infantry Company of the 8th Massachusetts Regiment." Colonel Brooks said that he was one of the best disciplinarians and one of the most gallant officers of the Revolution. He wrote of himself the following:— "On the ninth of January 1783 after having commanded this beautiful company six years and been with them in every action I was commissioned Major." He served until June 12, 1783. He was appointed Major of the 2nd United States Infantry on March 4, 1791 and resigned his commission the 29th of December following. He went to Marietta, Ohio in 1788, going in command of a company of six-

ty men to protect the settlers from the Indians He moved forward several months in advance of the emigrants. He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. He was offered the place of Governor of one of the territories and was appointed Collector of Port of Gloucester, but declined both. He received a pension of $500 a year from the Government. In 1798 he was dismissed to the church at Derry, N. H., and in 1810 was chosen Deacon. He died at Derry, N. H., June 8, 1843, aged 94. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

FIRST LEUTENANT JOSEPH EVELITH (EVERLY) was the son of Isaac and Elizabeth (Parsons) Evelith. He was born in Gloucester about 1741. From April 24th to November 14, 1759, he was a private in Captain Nathaniel Bayley's (Gloucester) Company, Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment. June 27, 1775 he was commissioned Lieutenant in Captain Gideon Parker's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment. He died in Gloucester June 30, 1806, aged 65.

FIRST LEUTENANT SHUBAEL GORHAM of Gloucester was engaged May 29, 1775 as First Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Roby's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and served through the year, according to a return made in October. April 15,1776 he became Second Lieutenant in Captain Albert Chapman's Company, Colonel Samuel Elmore's Connecticut State Regiment, and on the 25th of July of that year he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. He served to April 1777. A man of that name was living in Weston, Fairfield County, Ct., in 1790. All of the above services are credited by Heitman in his "Historical Register of the Continental Army," to one man. The author, however, thinks it probable that the Lieutenant Shubael Gorham connected with the Connecticut Regiment was the man of that name who was a Sergeant in Captain Icabod Doolittle's Company, Colonel David Waterbury's 5th Connecticut Regiment, May 29, 1775, and who reentered service in that regiment November 17th of that year. June 12, 1780 a commission was ordered in the Mass-

achusetts Council to Captain Shubael Gorham as commander of the schooner "King Hendrick," privateer. In all probability this record belonged to the subject of this sketch, who served in Colonel Little's Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSEPH HODGKINS of Ipswich, son of Thomas Hodgkins, Senior, was baptized August 28, 1743. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as First Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Wade's Company of Minute Men, and on May 10, 1775 enlisted in the same rank under the same Captain in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and served through the year. January 1, 1776 he was appointed to the same rank in Captain Nathaniel Wade's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army, and served at least until July 13th and probably through the year. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. According to Heitman he was "omitted" in July 1779. Felt in his "History of Ipswich" states that he succeeded Colonel Wade as commander of the Middle Essex Militia Regiment after the Revolution. Hammatt in his "Early Inhabitants of Ipswich" calls him "a most remarkable citizen of Ipswich, an officer of the Revolution, and an honor to his name." Colonel Joseph Hodgkins died in Ipswich, September 25, 1829, aged 86 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT MOSES KENT of Newburyport was the son of Richard and Anne (Hale) Kent. He was born in Newbury, September 12, 1750. May 2, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Timothy Barnard's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment. In a list of the officers of this regiment, published in the historical section in the first part of this article, his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Lunt's Company. He probably served through the year in this regiment. January 1, 1776 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Gideon Parker's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. According to Heitman he served through the year. He died in Newbury, February 29, 1786, aged "34 y."

FIRST LIEUTENANT CALEB LAMSON of Ipswich, son of Samuel and Sarah (Kimball) Lamson, (See Kimball Genealogy) was born in Ipswich in May 1739. From April 22nd to December 2, 1756, he served as a private in Captain Stephen Whipple's Company, Colonel Ichabod Plaisted's Regiment, on an expedition to Crown Point. In this record his age is given as seventeen, place of birth Ipswich, and place of residence Wenham. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Sergeant in Captain Elisha Whitney's Company of Minute Men, which marched from Ipswich Hamlet to Mystic, returning three days later. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain John Baker's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he held the same rank under the same officers in the 12th Regiment, Continental Army. A man of this name was living in Gloucester in 1790.

FIRST LIEUTENANT EBENEZER LOW of Ipswich was the son of David and Susanna (Low) Low. He was baptized in Ipswich October 4, 1741. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Abraham Dodge's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. February 18, 1776 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Gidding's Company, Colonel Joseph Foster's Regiment for service in Gloucester in the sea-coast defense and served until his discharge November 18, 1776. His name appeared as Lieutenant on the alarm list dated April 30, 1778. He was living in Ipswich in 1790.

FIRST LIEUTENANT PAUL LUNT of Newburyport was the son of Cutting and Deborah (Jaques) Lunt. He was born in Newbury March 30, 1777. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Serjeant in Captain Moses Nowell's Company. May 2, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Lunt's Company, and he served through the year. In a list of officers of Colonel Jonathan Titcomb's 2nd Essex County Regiment, dated April 30, 1776, his name appears as Adjutant,

and he was reported commissioned May 8, 1776. He died in Newbury November 26, 1824, aged 77 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSEPH WHITTEMORE of Newbury was born about 1742. May 9, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Perkins's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment. He was dangerously wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. The hospital being filled with sick and wounded, he was sent to Newburyport, where he remained under treatment until October 8, 1775. June 29, 1776 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, Second Lieutenant of Captain Edward Wigglesworth's Company of matrosses to be stationed at Newburyport, and his commission was dated the same day. July 9, 1776 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Moses Nowell's Company of Sea-coast men stationed at Plum Island, near Newburyport. He served at least three months. "Colonel" Joseph Whittemore died in Newburyport June 25, 1821, aged 79 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AMOS ATKINSON of Newbury, son of Ichabod and Priscilla (Bayley) Atkinson, was born in that town March 20, 1754. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as private in Captain Moses Little's Company, serving five days. May 1, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Jacob Gerrish's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment. January 1, 1775 he became Second Lieutenant, in Captain Jacob Gerrish's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. Later in the year he was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant of the same company. A receipt for wages for four and a half month's service at Rhode Island, under Major William Rogers, dated January 25, 1779 is the only record we have of his later service. He was a hatter and lived in Newbury. He died in Newbury November 11, 1817.

SECOND LEUTENANT THOMAS BROWN of Newbury was the son of Lieutenant Francis and Mercy (Lowell) Brown. He was born in Newbury March 10, 1746. He was probably the man who served as En-

sign in Captain Jacob Dodge's Wenham Company, Colonel Samuel Rogers's Second Essex County Regiment, June 7, 1765. May 2, 1775 he became First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Barnard's Company, and he served through the year. January 1, 1776 he was appointed First Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Wade's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. Later in the year, he became Captain in Colonel Aaron Willard's Regiment which marched to Ticonderoga. A pay abstract for mileage from Newburyport to Charlestown, No. 4, and from Fort Edward to Newbury, was sworn to January 23, 1777. He lived in Newbury until 1784 when he removed to Newburyport and became a merchant. He died in Newburyport, June 26, 1803, aged 58 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT DANIEL COLLINS of Gloucester was born about 1739. Babson states that he was a grandson of Ezekiel Collins. Daniel Collins, Junior, served in Captain Nathaniel Bayley's Gloucester Company from May 4th to November 14, 1759. He was a blockmaker by trade. May 2, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Warner's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and served through the year. During 1776 he held the same rank in Captain Nathaniel Warner's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. Babson in his "History of Gloucester" states that he later became a Colonel of the Militia and that he died in 1810, aged 71 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT DANIEL DRESSER of Rowley (son of Daniel) was a resident of Ipswich in 1760. February 25th of that year he enlisted for service in the French War, and in this record he was called Daniel Dresser, "Junior," and his birthplace given as Boxford. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain John Baker's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. In a return made out October of that year, his age was given as 35 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JAMES LORD of Ipswich, son of James, Junior, and Mary (Fuller) Lord, was born in Ipswich March 26, 1738. In

August 1757 he marched in Captain Thomas Dennis's Company, Colonel Daniel Appleton's Regiment for the relief of Fort William Henry. In the record of this service he was reported as belonging to the late Colonel Berry's Company. From April 5th to October 29, 1758, he was in Captain Thomas Poor's Company, Colonel Ebenezer Nichol's Regiment. April 6, 1759 at the age of twenty-one he enlisted in service for the invasion of Canada. From January 1st to December 15, 1760 he was a private in Captain Israel Davis's Company, Colonel Bagley's Regiment, for service at Louisburg. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Abraham Dodge's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Abraham Dodge's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army. July 20, 1778 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Simeon Brown's Company, Colonel Nathaniel Wade's Regiment, and he served until January 1, 1779. Heitman, in his "Historical Register of the Officers of the Continental Army" states that he died February 13, 1830.

SECOND LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL MONTGOMERY of Newburyport was the son of Nathaniel and Sarah Montgomery. He was born in Newbury April 30, 1751. He served as Corporal in Captain Moses Nowell's Company on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 2, 1775 he became Second Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Lunt's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment and he served through the year. In one company return he is called Ensign. During 1776 he served as Second Lieutenant in Captain Ezra Lunt's Company, Colonel Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AARON PARKER held that rank in Captain Nathaniel Wade's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, according to a return dated June 26, 1775.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ENOCH PARSONS of Gloucester was born about 1735. He served as Corporal in Captain Henry Ingalls's Company from September 25th to December 14, 1775, in an expedition to Crown

Point. May 29, 1775 he was engaged to serve as Second Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Roby's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. In a return dated October 1775, his age was given as forty years. January 1, 1776 he was appointed Second Lieutenant in Captain Abraham Dodge's Company, Colonel Moses Little's 12th Regiment, Continental Army, and he served probably through the year. April 25, 1777 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, Second Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Warner's Company of mattrosses, stationed at Gloucester. In a petition dated Gloucester, October 10, 1777 signed by said Parsons, he stated that he had "served nearly three years," and that his wages were not sufficient to support his family. He asked that his resignation be accepted, and such action was taken in Council, November 27, 1777. He may have been the man of that name who was later captured and held a prisoner in Nova Scotia. A certificate dated Boston, August 3, 1780, signed by Enoch Parsons and others, returned prisoners, showed that they had been kindly treated by the residents of Cape Fourchu, Nova Scotia. The name of Waitstill Lewis was particularly mentioned as he had conveyed them to Massachusetts without charge.

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STICKNEY of Newbury (also given Newburyport) was born about 1746. He was engaged May 9, 1775 to hold that rank in Captain Benjamin Perkin's Company, Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, and he served through the year. In a return dated October of that year, his age is given as 29 years.

SECOND LEUTENANT MOSES TRASK (no town given) held that rank in Captain Gideon Parker's Company, in Colonel Moses Little's Regiment, according to a return dated June 26, 1775. He served through the year.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

Many of the big facts of our every day existence are too momentous for ordinary minds to realize in their true value. One of the changes going on in our day is the decrease in numerical strength of the old New England stock, which is due (contrary to the commonly accepted theory) not so largely to decline in fecundity on the part of the native stock as to rapid increase of immigrant foreign population. The Celt, who came in numbers to our shores 75 years ago, has made marvelous progress, and has thoroughly established himself as the leader of practically all the foreign elements. In Boston he has complete control of the politics of the city, and in other large cities seems to be acquiring control.

Looked at with the long-ranged vision of the historical philosopher, it is possible to see in this change an infusion of new blood, as beneficial to America in a few generations as was the admixture of Teutonic, Danish and Norman blood in the original English (Angles) stock, but many others believe it marks the slow exclusion of a people, the downfall of the New Englanders, who, like the Romans, drunk with wealth and prosperity, are unable to cope with the invading "horde."

Because of religious feeling the question is discussed but little in the open. But recently prominent citizens of the state have delivered some plain words in public, which are interesting contributions to the subject of the racial change now going on in the New England states.

Expurgated of some of his expletives which lent nothing in force, Mayor Curley of Boston said in part:

"Before the woman's department of the National Civic Federation in the Back Bay, Wednesday afternoon, Mr. John F. Moors wailed for an hour the pol-

itical decadence of the age in Boston; and wept for the grand old days when the Hub was a big provincial village, where the dominant element of the day dealt in cod fish and rum and there were no reformers to disturb, nor auditors to annoy, the Anglo-Saxons who preyed on the city as zealously as they prayed in their meeting houses.

"Then came the deluge and the Irish—mere Irish peasants—who landed here poor, vigorous and free, to do the work the Anglo-Saxon clods and farm laborers had been imported to do a century before by fish and farm corporations.

Mr. Moors says, "We Anglo-Saxons gave them a refuge here; but socially, industrially, racially and religiously the welcome was not of a kind to break the mass to individual units." The welcome was certainly not cordial: no cool observer would have called it fraternal or Christian; but after centuries of Anglo-Saxon rule Puritan prejudice and suspicion were but flea bites to a hardy, industrious virile race which had letters and learning, culture and civilization when the forbears of colonial New England were the savage denizens of hyperborean forests.

"There were no brass bands and civic delegations when the Irish came in the forties. And adds Mr. Moors sadly, 'When they became numerically supreme they became politically dominant. How absurdly American this was, the majority daring to rule the minority; but that is one of the peculiarities of the American system, so different from the Anglo-Saxon system of the man doffing his hat and pulling his forelock to his masters and betters!

"These Irish did worse than that. They began the agitation that liberated the labor serfs of the cotton towns, abolished the 9 o'clock curfew, decreased the hours of labor from 84 to 54 hours a week, and kept on disturbing the incidence and conditions of the Yankee Golden Age so that they have made Massachusetts fit for a plain American to live in and abolished the feudal lords of industry. The dreadful Irish!

"Quick-witted people with long memories, they soon learned the American political game and the value of the ballot; and in the second and third generation they dethroned the narrow and stifling dominance of the dwindling Anglo-Saxon and proved their fitness to rule and administer states and municipalities.

"Naturally Mr. Moors does not appreciate these things, but he seems to approve the tricks and traps of a hostile Legislature which forces a non-partisan system of government—a body created to destroy partisanship

wherever the Irish were dominant—power to balk the will of the electorate expressed at the polls and to negative the charter adopted by the people.

"A strange and stupid race, the Anglo-Saxon. Beaten in a fair stand-up fight be seeks by political chicanery and hypocrisy to gain the ends he lost in battle; and this temperamental peculiarity he loves to call fair play.

"Like others of his strange breed Mr. Moors worries over the public schools and their management and results, and he implores the ladies of the Back Bay infected with uplift and reform ideas to rally to them and give the 100,000 children a proper education. The ladies don't know what a chance they are missing. Can they not hear this army of 100.000 children of Ireland, Israel, Italy and other outer lands, calling to be saved from what are called the best schools in America, and given a 'proper education', as understood by the uplifters of the Back Bay upon the plans laid down by Prexy Emeritus.

"Nothing is quite so touching as the concern displayed for the public schools by those who send their children elsewhere in order to save them from the contamination of the lower classes, and fit them for association with our best titled foreigners in the future.

"Mr Moors probably means well; but he is a voice calling in the wilderness, a pathetic figure of a perishing people, who seek by dollars and denunciation to evade the inexorable and inevitable law of the survival of the fittest.

"The so-called Anglo-Saxon Mr. Moors laments is a negligible citizen; he neglects his political duties; he is not a good American; he imagines his prejudices are principles, and fails to understand what he calls the decay of America is merely his own personal grievances and political inefficiency. It has not occurred to him that he is not American, nor is the dwindling provincial personnel he speaks for the nation.

"The Puritan has passed; the Anglo-Saxon is a joke; a newer and better America is here; colonial New England is dead; the 20th century is here. Mr. Moors and his kind must keep step with the age or get left behind in the race. Let him learn to accept accomplished facts cheerfully: the sap of a new life stirring in a nation is a sign of vitality, a promise of growth, strength and endurance hereafter.

"No country is ever ruined by a virile, intelligent, God-fearing, patriotic people like the Irish, and no land was ever saved by little clubs of female faddists, and old gentlemen croaking over imaginary good old days.

"What Mr. Moors fails to realize is that his peculiar mental and phy-

sical condition has rendered him unfit to represent modern Boston and that the public good and his private views require his prompt retirement from all public office. . . . . He should get down and out of the Finance Commission voluntarily or otherwise."

Mr. Moors remarks were not offensive, or even critical, in fact he was making an attempt to hold out an olive sprig, but our Celtic friends are showing that they possess a fine sensitiveness. There is nothing dull or obtuse about their appreciation of an insult, hinted or implied. Even an unfavorable inference will meet instant resentment, as it did in this case. It is perhaps Plebeian and foolish from the point of view of the man looking down. But evidence of spirit, warm blood and enthusiasm on the part of a race working its way onward and upward.

The gist of what Mr. Moors said, to arouse Mayor Curley, is contained in the following:

"Boston became a city nearly 100 years ago. . . . A generation later the potato famine in Ireland drove hither for a refuge thousands of suffering people, mostly peasants. The third generation of this famine stricken people is now dominant in this city.

"Their ancestors were united by English oppression and absentee landlordism into a compact mass of antagonism to all things Anglo-Saxon. We Anglo-Saxons gave them a refuge here, but socially, racially, industrially and religiously the welcome was not of a kind to break the mass into individual units. When they became numerically supreme, as in time they, did, they became also politically supreme, at our exclusion.

"The one great need for years has been this, that the different races which make up our cosmopolitan city, should not remain distinct and antagonistic but should work together as in truth, fellow citizens. Prejudice, of which we in this room must bear our full share of responsibility, has stood in the way. Perhaps in the now famous words of Mr. Lloyd George, we are admitting this 'too late'; now that we have become little more than lookers-on."

Ex-mayor John F. Fitzgerald, with more poise and wiser restraint, made pertinent comment, on another part of Mr. Moors's address, as follows:

"In his speech, John F. Moors remarked that not a rich man's son under forty years of age today is taking any important part in the political life of the city. He might have gone further and said that there are few of them in the constructive business life of the city. As bankers and promoters and bond salesmen some of them have achieved a modicum of success, but as a class they have been a blot rather than a blessing to the life of the city. Their forbears were mostly strong men who entered actively into all the walks of life. In politics, business and shipping they were leaders. Their names were bywords everywhere in this country and abroad. In those days New England furnished the leadership of the nation in most things. Vessels built here were captained by scions of the old blood hardly twenty-one years of age. The country was gridironed with railroads organized in small offices in State Street where now inertia exists or the latest golf contest is discussed. This element, lacking both brains and energy, themselves conspired to hold down the new-comers.

"Mr. Moors said in another part of his address, "socially, racially, religiously and industrially" the new-comers were not welcomed. Is it any wonder under such conditions that New York after the war grasped the commercial and industrial supremacy away from Boston, and today Boston is a joke compared to New York, commercially and industrially?"

Louis K. Liggett, the new president of the Boston Chamber of Commerce, a few days later expressed a thought along this same line, in an address to Hyde Park business men, when he said:

"Boston might advertise, because it has a great deal of money and many advantages; but what Boston needs more than advertising is more of the old-fashioned Yankee spirit of starting things. Boston is suffering from inherited wealth. That is to say a great deal of its capital is in the hands of trustees who could not, perhaps, if they wished to, risk a little money on development. Their position is obvious, both from the moral and the legal standpoint. New England should have had the automobile business, the second largest manufacturing industry in the country. We had the machinists, the shops and the capital, but we did not have the men with faith in the horseless carriage."

But the most pronounced contribution to the discussion was made by *The Boston Daily Globe*, owned and controlled by General Charles Henry Taylor

and his son, which in an editorial leader, headed "Our Fine Old New England Stock," boldly attacked the theory that New England blood is any better than any other blood. The editorial said in part:

We talk much about "pure blood" and "unmixed stock" as if their product was nobler in character and finer in deeds. We shudder slightly at the word "mongrel" and "half-breed," thinking of some poor neglected dog, or some sodden degenerate of an Indian reservation. There is no denying our racial pride, no matter what our race may be. There is also no denying our fond reverence for pure blood and our antipathy for mixed blood, particularly if the mixture contains negro or Chinese corpuscles.

It is a very lusty illusion.

Pure blood is a myth. American blood is certainly a mixture and the Anglo-Saxon himself, by his very name, reflects a mixture following the Saxon invasion of England. Following the Saxon invasion came the Norman conquest, making the ancestral characteristics of three races flow in British veins, not to mention the intermarriages between the English, Scotch and Irish. President Wilson calls himself Scotch-Irish. Theodore Roosevelt is Dutch-American.

Purity of blood may bring in prize cups and ribbons in the dog and horse shows, but pure blood among human beings is no royal road to genius. Brilliance of mind is not bred. It is not produced by refinement of birth. It is beyond the control of man.

Alexander Dumas' grandmother was a Haytian negress.

Zola's father was half Greek and half Italian. His mother was a French woman.

Jules Simon was a mixture of German and French. Robespierre's parents were Irish and French. Patti was a mixture of Sicilian and Roman blood. Barclay de Tolly was both Scotch and Russian. John Audubon's father was a Frenchman. His mother was a Spanish West Indian.

Copernicus, the founder of modern astronomy, was the son of a Slav father and German mother. The great Prince Eugene's father was French and his mother Italian. Lafcadio Hearn, that shadowy stylist, sprang from an Irish father and a Greek mother. Edvard Grieg, the composer, was born of Norwegian-Scotch parentage. Immanuel Kant, greatest of modern philosophers, was the son of a Scotch saddler and his German wife.

Purity of stock in not to be desired in the human race. Historians tell us that the flowering of genius in Athens during the glory of ancient Greece was due to the mixture of races in Attica in previous generations.

Historians of later periods ascribe the rise of Rome to the mixture of races as instanced by the rape of the Sabine women, on the Italian peninsular; and the fall of Rome to the refusal of the decaying ruling class to allow marriages with barbarians.

Europe has been a weird mixture of peoples ever since its ascendency, following the wild surgings back and forth of the Goths, the Huns and the Vandals. Spain reached her greatest height after the Moorish invasion. The Germans today are a most complex mixture. The hope of the future greatness of the United States is that the races will melt into each other and breed a versatile people. The old Anglo-Saxon stock should disappear with the rest.* A. W. D.

Judge Francis M. Thompson, whose "Reminiscences of Four Score Years" appeared in installments in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, died at his home in Greenfield, January 1st, 1916. The last installment of his reminiscences appear in the January, 1915, number. We believe them to be a valuable contribution to the pioneer days of the Northwestern states. He spent but a few years there, but he had remarkably varied experiences, being banker, lumberman, storekeeper, miner, member of the first legislative Council of Montana, and author of the bill creating the Historical Society of Montana. Being a member of an exploring party which organized in St. Louis in 1862, he made a prospecting trip up the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers, over the Rocky Mountains, down the Snake and Columbia rivers to Portland, and thence to San Francisco by ocean voyage,—a trip of over 3000 miles. He acted as secretary of the party, and kept a diary of the trip, which formed the basis for his reminiscences. Another ex-

*For the benefit of those who may have seen the original editorial with its predicate that the superintendent of the State School for Feeble Minded had branded the "Fine old New England stock" as a breed below standard and asserted that more mental deficiency was found among descendants of old Anglo-Saxon settlers than among immigrants and their children, we would say that Dr. Walter E. Fernald, the official referred to, claims that he was misquoted, and denies emphatically that he gave voice to such a statement. But this, of course, has no bearing at all on the editorial as quoted here. A. W. D.

ample of the industrious writing habit which seems to be part of a New Englander's nature! As one reads the spirited pages of narrative, dealing with banking, trade, currency, travel, miners, Indians, outlaws, vigilant committees, conversations with Abraham Lincoln, and notorious men of the plains, he cannot but marvel at the fact that such interesting personal history with those far away states should emanate from a modest little man who has for the past 43 years been performing probate duties for the county, at Greenfield, first as registrar and then as judge. A brief biography of Judge Thompson in the January, 1908, issue of the Magazine, gives further data concerning his life and historical writings.

The publication of the index of Massachusetts pioneers lately completed in our columns calls special attention to the westward movement of the population of Massachusetts. It should be borne in mind that about the time of the Revolution especially, and for a generation later, there was a notable exodus toward the east.

The District of Maine was then a part of our state and while the coast from the New Hampshire line to the mouth of the Kennebec was chiefly settled by colonists from the mother country in the 17th century, most of the pioneers to the great interior came from the Bay state. The Kennebec Valley belonged in large part to the so-called Plymouth Company of Massachusetts whose founders bought it from our Plymouth Colony. That section was settled first; apart from some other smaller holdings the rest of the interior was included in the state's public lands and parcelled out and sold from time to time. A very large proportion of the actual settlers came from old Massachusetts and even today a traveller in the rural districts (and cities are very few and small) is struck by the recurrence of the family names so common in our states.

Genealogy has received considerable attention in Maine: there are very good collections at the Maine Genealogical Society in Portland and the Maine State Library, Augusta. There is of course, not a little Maine material

in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* but Maine genealogical periodicals, whether general or local, seem to have short lives, and their indexes are not of a sort to make research easy. One of the best of these periodicals was Porter's *Bangor Historical Magazine* 1885–94, devoted especially to the Eastern Maine. The Bangor Public Library has a card index to all the names in this magazine. That Library has also another unusual genealogical tool in a file of the genealogical department of *Boston Transcript* 1893 to date and *New York Mail and Express* 1893–1904, cut up, mounted on cards and fully cross referenced (except that the latter part of the *Transcript file* has not yet been reached in the process). It also mounts and indexes the similar department of the Portland *Evening Argus* beginning 1915. C. A. F.

Our associate-editor, George Sheldon, of Deerfield, spent his 97th birthday with four generations of Sheldons at table with him, on November 31. It is 45 years ago now, since he founded the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, and his interest in historical matters is as strong and persistent as ever. Elsewhere we note a reprint of his story of "The Little Brown House on the Albany Road;" a few months ago he contributed a long letter to the *Springfield Republican* on his observations of the migratory habits of rodents; and he is at present preparing an article on Joseph Stebbins, which will appear in our next issue.

Charles A. Flagg, one of our associate editors, who was formerly in the department of American history in the Library of Congress, has had many honors thrust upon him since he took up his residence in Maine as librarian of the Bangor Public Library. The Governor has recently placed him on the State Library Commission, he is on the standing committee of the Maine Historical Society, and officer of the local historical Society, and President of the Maine Library Association.

The town or city is fortunate which numbers among its present or former inhabitants, a man who is willing to write its history When that man essays to compile its military annals and combines in himself the accomplished scholar and experienced soldier, all interested in that town and in military history in general have reason to be grateful. In the "Soldiers of Oakham," Doctor Henry Parks Wright has given to us a practically unique volume, in that he has not only given a list of the soldiers of that town who participated in the three great wars of this nation, but has given excellent biographical sketches of all of these men.

Other writers have prepared lists of the soldiers furnished by towns like Lancaster and Danvers and still others like the late Howard K. Sanderson in his "Lynn in the Revolution," have written the biographies for men who served in the war for Independence, but we will search in vain for another book approaching the "Soldiers of Oakham" in completeness and breadth of scope. The writer not only gives the military record but the ancestry, civil record (before and after the war service), names of the members of his immediate family and a full list of authorities under each name. His especial fitness for the work is shown in the following quotation from the preface: "In the preparation of this book I have not only been living again among old friends, but have sometimes seemed to myself to be renewing acquaintance with men brought back upon the stage from former generations. I knew personally the greater part of the soldiers from Oakham in the Civil War. One-fourth of them had been my pupils, and a large proportion had been my playmates and friends. I have seen the greater part of the men who were in the War of 1812. From early childhood I had heard much about the soldiers in the Revolutionary War from my grandmother, by whom I was brought up, who was the widow of a Revolutionary soldier and the daughter of John Crawford, Captain of the Oakham company from 1783 to 1785. It has been a pleasure to gather, from the records of the town and state, the history of the Oakham men who served in the War for Independence, but it has been especially gratifying to bring to light in a neighboring town a Revolutionary document supposed to have been irrevo-

cably lost. The fortunate discovery of a pay roll of Captain How's company for service on the Hudson in the latter part of 1776 gives encouragement to hope that copies of other supposedly lost muster or pay rolls will yet be found."

It is most earnestly hoped that the laudable example set by this devoted friend of Oakham will be followed by others and that similar records of soldiers in other towns will be compiled and preserved for posterity.

F. A. G.

"*Soldiers of Oakham, Massachusetts, in the Revolutionary War, the War of* 1812 *and the Civil War,* by Henry Parks Wright." New Haven, Conn.

"The Little Brown House on the Albany Road" is a story of a small tumbled down dwelling in Deerfield, which has in recent years been rehabilitated and occupied as a studio by two young ladies. This house had a history full of associations with strong characters of Colonial times, and Mr. George Sheldon wrote a "story" about the little brown house in 1890, so full of romance and interest, and so full of interesting personages, like Aunt Spiddy, Deacon Hitchcock, and General Hoyt, that it came to the notice of Edwin D. Mead, who published it in the *New England Magazine* for September 1898, and a thousand reprints found their way into libraries and homes. To meet a demand which still continues this new edition is published by the author in artistic light brown board covers. The interest in the story is increased by illustrations from several very fine photographs and original drawings.

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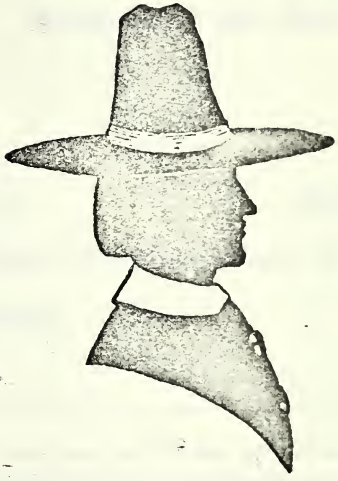

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JOSEPH STEBBINS

A PIONEER IN THE OUTBREAK OF THE REVOLUTION

By George Sheldon.

There cannot be too much honor paid to the memory of those who set themselves to the work of freeing this colony from the tyrannical grasp of Great Britain. They were men of nerve, persistence and faith in their cause and in one another. They had the firm belief that they should finally succeed in their herculean task.

That the task was herculean is graphically shown in the following cry uttered in March, 1775. "Are we ready for war? Where are our stores —where are our arms—where our soldiers—where our generals—where our money—the sinews of War? They are nowhere to be found. In truth, we are poor, we are naked, we are defenceless, yet we talk of assuming the front of war! of assuming it, too, against a nation, one of the most formidable in the world; a nation ready and armed at all points; her navies riding triumphant on every sea, her armies never marching but to certain victory! What is to be the issue of the struggle we are called upon to court? What can be the issue, in the comparative circumstances of the two countries, but to yield up this country an easy prey to Great Britain." This and like eloquent addresses had no effect on the New England rebels of the Revolution.

Deerfield, as a town, was at the forefront of this rebellion. Deerfield was not alone, but this sketch of her history is given as an illustration of what was going on all around her.

As early as 1770 the Deerfield rebels had made up their minds for business, and had gradually come into civil power. For ten years previously the loyalists had held control of the town, but in 1770 the rebels defied the loyalists and King George and elected rebel town officers.

Prominent among the men of Deerfield who were active in this movement was my grandfather, Joseph Stebbins. July 28, 1774, when Stebbins was twenty-four years old, the spirit of patriotism of the "Sons of Liberty" had reached such a height that preparations had been made for setting up a tall "Liberty Pole" upon the village street. Party spirit ran high, and little courtesy was shown on either side. There were a few Tories in town, and this Pole, which had been brought here too late in the day to be erected, was sawed asunder by one of them when darkness could conceal the actor who boastingly made record of the act in his diary. This diary is now in my possession.

The next morning the rebels procured another stately tree from the forest, and planted it firmly on the Street within six rods of my grandfather's house, with a liberty flag floating defiantly therefrom.

Stebbins was one of those who well knew that proceedings like these would call down upon the heads of the rebels the vengeance of one of the most powerful nations of the earth, and he early saw the necessity of preparing to resist force by force. He was one of the leaders in organizing and drilling a company of the "Sons of Liberty." The strength of the town of Deerfield was behind them as we have already seen.

Oct. 7, 1774 a town meeting was called and a rebel elected to the Provincial Congress. Oct. 17, a new military company "to be under the orders of the new Congress" was organized here. Nov. 11, Col. David Field and Major David Dickinson were sent to a rebel military field meeting at Northampton.

Dec. 5, the town voted to direct the selectmen to procure a stock of powder and lead.

A Minute company was formed and might have been seen actively drilling with Jonas Locke as Captain and Joseph Stebbins as Lieutenant.

It so happened that on a day which turned out to be one of the most eventful in the history of Deerfield—April 20, 1775—a town meeting was held in the schoolhouse, when it was,—"Voted that y^{e} Minute Company, so called in this Town (as an Encouragement to their perfecting themselves in the Military Art) be allowed by the Town y^{e} following sums, viz.: to y^{e} Capt & two Lieuts each two shillings, to y^{e} clerk one shilling & six pence, and to the non-commissioned Officers & Privates one shilling each for one-half day in a week, until ordered otherwise by y^{e} Selectmen who are hereby appointed a Committee to determine how long y^{e} said Company shall Draw y^{e} above mentioned wages."

It was then provided that the company should receive back pay for time spent in exercising, at one-half the above rates. Thus the town adopted and backed up all the rebels had done.

Deerfield had now a little paid rebel army of its own which had been drilling for months and my grandfather was an officer. Bear in mind this was more than fourteen months before the Declaration of Independence.

The little far away town had this day provided for a contingency which had already occurred. Even while the meeting was deliberating men on horseback were hurriedly spreading the startling news in every direction that the war had begun. The schoolhouse door had scarcely closed when the resounding hoof beats of the galloping horse, and the hoarse call "To Arms!" of the excited rider were heard on our village green. "Gage has fired upon the people! Minute men to the rescue! Now is the time! Cambridge the place!" and the twain are off like a meteor. Then there was hurrying to and fro and arming in hot haste, and before the hours of the day were numbered forty-nine men under Capt. Jonas Locke and Lieut. Joseph Stebbins were on their way to the scene of bloodshed to join the

band of patriots under Gen. Artemas Ward already gathering and encircling Gage in its toils. The blood of the colony was at fever heat and Gage had tapped the first vein at Concord.

By general consent Gen. Ward had been placed at the head of the movement against Gage, and had been directed to raise an army of 30,000 men for this object. At the outbreak of the Revolution, Ward was one of the leading men of Massachusetts in both civil and military life, and in June, 1775, the second Continental Congress appointed him first Major-General, ranking next to Washington in the American army.

A letter in my possession gives bits of information, not elsewhere found, as to how the Deerfield company fared on the way, and how they were received by Gen. Ward. This letter is singularly devoid of sentiment. There is not a word regarding the main cause of the war, and not a hint is found concerning the reception they received from the people as they struggled along. It is addressed to "Col. Selah Barnard" at Deerfield, and written by Isaac Parker, Clerk of the Company. The letter is given in full.

Waltham April 24 [Monday] 1775

Sir having an Opportunity to send by the Barror we thought it Best to Acquaint you as well as we could of our wellfare, we are safe arrived and are took our Quarters at Brewers to night But we are not able to tell whether this will be our Quarters long, our Regement is not all arrived, Liut Col Williams [Samuel] arrived with his Company Last Saturday night we have had rain every day since we set out which made the traveling very wet and hard, But our men are in good Spirits and everyBody else we see—we shall not need any Provision, for we can Draw our allowance to morrow if we please, But we think Best to use our own as long as it Last—tomorrow enlisting orders are to be given out to Raise a standing army. Several of the other provinces have Sent and offered to Raise their part, those that enlist are to have one Coat and forty shilling a month, it is thought all the Cash that can be sent will be much wanted, and we think if it could be obtain to send our money now in the Collectors* hand Down—you will Doubt-

*The "Collectors" were men selected by the rebels for the purpose of collecting the pay of the rebel soldiers. It was feared that the tax collectors might prove to be Tories and refuse to pay the rebel soldiers. The wages of the soldiers were always paid in specie which was collected at stated times by the "Collectors" and held subject to the orders of the soldiers who were liable to be in the field on pay day.

less here many false stories which we would not have you pay much Regard to, they have took Saml Murry, and John Ruggles prisoners who are under gard—we should be be very glad to see you if you think Best, as I have heard that Col Williams does, please to inform all our friends of our wellfare, Excuse this, as it is Late at night

I remains in Behalf of the Company your

Huml Sevt

Isaac Parker Clerk

Under this call for enlistment at headquarters, Lieut. Stebbins was the first of the Deerfield company to respond.

It has now been shown that Deerfield was in the front ranks of the rebellion, and that Joseph Stebbins was an officer in a military company which was zealously drilling before Washington received his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army.

Many towns, like Deerfield, foresaw the coming struggle and made like preparations to meet it. Sunderland, nearby, organized a company of Minute men in the fall of 1774, and employed a "deserter" to drill them.

In Greenfield a company of Minute men were drilling under the direction of Capt. Timothy Childs, a veteran of the French War.

A paper in Memorial Hall signed by Jesse Billings and twenty-nine others shows how the matter was arranged in Hatfield before the authority was assumed by the Provincial Congress. "We the subscribers apprehending the military exercise is specially Requisite at this Day, and altho Capt. Allis, Lieut. Partridge and Ens. Dickinson have publicly declared that they will not act as military officers under the acts of Parliament in the support of the same. But we desire that they should call us together and exercise us by themselves or such others as they shall judge likely to teach and instruct us in the military art."

Worcester County, the home of Artemas Ward, was all on fire. Miss Ellen Chase, in her "Beginnings of the Revolution," recites the fact of seven regiments of one thousand men each drilling in local companies twice a week

in that county, and that the men had taken on the name of Minute men from being prepared to answer an alarm call at a minute's notice. At Marblehead the excitement ran still higher; there the rebels were drilling three or four times a week.

Richard Henry Lee, a distinguished Virginian statesman, said of the rebels at this period, they were "men trained to arms from their infancy." Does not the slaughter of British officers on Bunker Hill bear testimony to the truth of these words?

Instances might be multiplied but enough has been said to illustrate the spirit and the practice of these indomitable rebels.

I have dwelt at more length upon this subject of the early and earnest preparation for war by the patriots to show that the editor of the *New Republic* was very wide indeed of the mark when he recently published the following statement:—

"What, as a matter of fact, were the minute-men of the Revolution? They were citizens-at-large whom the Provincial congresses and the Committees of Safety of 1774 instructed to keep their powder-horns filled and hold themselves in readiness to shoot Britishers. They had had no military drill, and no practice except in shooting Indians and small game. They went down to defeat after defeat, they were chronically under-supplied with ammunition, they were hardly more than an armed rabble." To be sure the rebels were forced from Bunker Hill by Gage's swarm of Regulars and shortage of powder but, in effect, this action was equivalent to a victory. Gage had little stomach for another encounter with that sort of a "rabble," and how soon the British Regulars were driven clear of all Boston land and water!

We left Joseph Stebbins while serving as lieutenant in Captain Locke's company on the Lexington alarm, Apr. 20, 1775. This company arrived at headquarters on Monday, Apr. 24, and was at once broken up, Gen. Ward evidently preferring to use this new accession of force as material for filling the ranks of his new army, rather than as a new organization to be provided for. The next day Gen. Ward issued a call for volunteers to enlist

HOME OF COL. JOSEPH STEBBINS, NOW OCCUPIED BY HIS GRANDSON, GEORGE SHELDON

in the new army which he was raising to defy Gage. As fast as the men found places they were transferred to the rolls of the new service with pay from the day they left Deerfield. Capt. Locke was given a post of honor in the new army. In some way—it may have been his soldierly bearing or his known activity in the rebel cause—Stebbins had attracted the attention of Ward who, on April 27, appointed him Captain in Col. Jonathan Brewer's regiment, and his appointment was forwarded to the Continental Congress at Philadelphia. It may be a surprising statement, but it is a fact, that Stebbins was appointed a Captain in the rebel army nearly two months before Washington was placed in his exalted position.

For unexplained reasons, before Stebbins's commission was received, Ward placed Stebbins in Col. Prescott's regiment, and on the night of June 16, he was active with pick and spade at Bunker Hill, while the next day he was in the thickest of the fight, serving as a Captain under Brewer, with a company not fully recruited.

His commission, dated July 1, 1775, signed by John Hancock, President of the Continental Congress, now hangs in Memorial Hall. This Congress was made up of men selected from the leading spirits of the rebel colonies.

This commission shows Stebbins to have been a Captain in the Seventh Regiment raised by Washington for the Revolutionary Army.

The commission follows:—

In Congress.

The Delegates of the United Colonies of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Suffex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina and South-Carolina to Joseph Stebbins, Esquire.

We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity DO by these presents constitute and appoint you to be Captain of a Company in the 7th Regiment, commanded by Col. Brewer, in the army of the United Colonies, raised for the Defense of American

Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Captain by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command to be obedient to your orders as Captain. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congress.

July 1st 1775 By order of the Congress

John Hancock, President

Attest Chas Thomson Secy*

Having received his commission Capt. Stebbins was now a full-fledged soldier in the continental army which had been put by Congress under the command of George Washington, June 19, only eleven days before Stebbins's commission was made out. Let us note that this commission was issued in the same room and by the same body of men which had commissioned Washington Commander-in-chief of the rebel army.

Washington left Philadelphia June 21 to take command of the American army at Cambridge; this he did July 3, a memorable day in the history of the colonies.

Capt. Stebbins was in Col. Brewer's regiment which was then at Headquarters, Cambridge. Aug. 1, Stebbins's Company was full. We know that he was earnestly engaged under Brewer in driving Gage and Howe out of Boston. Bunker Hill had spoken in tones of thunder, Howe had taken counsel of prudence, and Boston was evacuated Mar. 17, 1776.

Owing to an unfortunate accident a large number of the old Stebbins family papers were destroyed, so that we have fewer particulars than we

*An examination will show that this commission was issued by twelve colonies only; as Georgia, the last, the thirteenth, had now taken its place, the presumption is that the economical secretary of the Second Congress utilized a printed form left over from the First Congress.

IN CONGRESS.

The DELEGATES *of the* UNITED COLONIES *of* New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, *the Counties of* New-Caſtle, Kent, *and* Suſſex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, *and* South-Carolina, *to* Joseph Stebbins Esquire

WE repoſing eſpecial Truſt and Confidence in your Patriotiſm, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, DO by theſe Preſents, conſtitute and appoint you to be Captain of a Company in the 7th. Regiment, commanded by Col.o Brewer

in the Army of the United Colonies, raiſed for the Defence of *American* Liberty, and for repelling every hoſtile Invaſion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to diſcharge the Duty of ——— Captain by doing and performing all Manner of Things thereunto belonging. And we do ſtrictly charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as Captain And you are to obſerve and follow ſuch Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you ſhall receive from this or a future Congreſs of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congreſs, for that Purpoſe appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of the United Colonies, or any other your ſuperior Officer, according to the Rules and Diſcipline of War, in Purſuance of the Truſt repoſed in you. This Commiſſion to continue in Force until revoked by this or a future Congreſs.

July 1. 1775.

By Order of the Congreſs,

Atteſt. Chas Thomson Secy

John Hancock PRESIDENT.

could wish of the Revolutionary service of Capt. Stebbins. At the time of the Declaration of Independence we find him in Cambridge in command of a company under Major-General Artemas Ward.

We come now to one of the leading events in the history of the Revolutionary War, in which Capt. Stebbins had an active part. I feel a just pride in paying all honor to my mother's father.

King George had sent Thomas Gage across the waves to straighten out affairs in and about Boston. Gage had failed and been recalled practically in disgrace. In 1777, Gen. John Burgoyne was sent with an army of Regulars and a horde of Hessians, with instructions to sweep the pestilent rebels off the face of the earth.

About the time the news reached here that Burgoyne's Hessians were marching toward New England—and their fate—orders were received for reinforcing the rebel army in northern New York.

Capt. Stebbins was now—August, 1777—in Deerfield. With Lieut. John Bardwell and 45 men he marched directly to Bennington. They were too late for the battle, but they had the satisfaction of seeing the Hessians already prisoners in the meetinghouse. From Bennington Capt. Stebbins marched to Batten Kill, and joined the regiment of Col. David Wells of Shelburne. From there they marched to Fort Edward to cut off the retreat of Burgoyne's army. While at Fort Edward Capt. Stebbins called for volunteers to follow him across the Hudson to surprise an outpost of Burgoyne near Fort Miller. I was personally acquainted with one of these volunteers, Jeremiah Newton of Deerfield, from whom I obtained considerable information concerning this campaign. In September, 1777, Burgoyne appeared with an apparently invincible force near Saratoga. On the 19th a fierce engagement occurred with Gates and his rebels in which both parties claimed the victory. On the 20th the struggle was renewed. Burgoyne was totally defeated and driven from the field. The King's sweepers were smothered in the dust they had raised. Burgoyne's shattered army became hemmed in by Gates and mortally wounded. All the healing waters of Saratoga could bring no balm to Burgoyne. He found no

avenue of escape. On Oct. 17, he was a prisoner with his whole army in the hands of the rebel General. Thus ended the memorable battle of Saratoga and the boastful campaign of Burgoyne.

It was now that our Deerfield heroes saw the head of the proud Briton humbled to the earth.

Burgoyne had discovered his mistake. He had declared a few weeks before that the rebels were made up of the lowest stratum of the peasantry with few or no respectable persons among them. He had no more idea that he should be successfully opposed by this riff-raff than he had of riding on horseback to the moon.

The trained troops of Burgoyne were contesting only for their King, and must of necessity, in the long run, give way before the Patriots who, inspired by the spirit of freedom, were desperately struggling for their own individual sovereignty.

Men of might had come to the front and were declared leaders by acclamation. In fact, a new and powerful nation had sprung into being based on individual rights.

We now exhibit in Memorial Hall a few spoils of the Saratoga campaign. One item is a linen towel brought home by Capt. Stebbins, and a brass candlestick secured by Capt. Maxwell of Charlemont, both from the personal belongings of Burgoyne. Stebbins also brought back part of a manuscript-book belonging to the commissary department of Burgoyne's army. The last entry made in it by the department was Oct. 8, 1777. This book contained a detailed account of rations given out to the Tory volunteers and camp assistants, six hundred and seventy-five names appearing on the pages preserved. An examination shows that this book was utilized by the Continentals as an orderly book at "Headquarters, Fort Edward," Oct. 13, 14, 15. On the 14th Col. David Wells was field officer of the day with 47 of his men on guard duty. On one of the blank pages of the book Capt. Stebbins, on Oct. 18, made up a pay roll of his own company. This list of the men is here given save that the names of the privates are placed alphabetically; one hundred and fifteen miles travel was allowed to each man.

Capt. Joseph Stebbins	Sergt. Daniel Slate	Corp. Samuel Gladding
Lt. John Bardwell	Sergt. Samuel Turner	Corp. Jason Parmenter
Sergt. George Herbert	Corp. David Hoyt	Drummer, James Warren
Sergt. Abel Parker	Corp. Zibah Phillips	Fifer, Justin Hitchcock

Privates

Allen, Joseph	Frary, Nathan	Parker, Samuel
Andrews, Nehemiah	Galt, John	Sanderson, Joseph
Beaman, John	Gray, David	Sheldon, Amasa
Billings, Thomas	Gray, Robert	Sheldon, Cephas
Bliss, David	Harding, Abiel	Stone, Elias
Burt, Ithamar	Joiner, Edward	Taylor, Eliphalet
Burt, Simeon	Joiner, William	Taylor, John
Catlin, Timothy	Maxwell, Philip	Tute, Moses
Childs, Lemuel	Miller, Tilotson	Webster, Stephen
Connable, John	Newton, Jeremiah	Wells, Thomas
Dickinson, Eliphalet	Newton, Levi	Wheat, Samuel
Faxon, Thomas	Orvis, William	

The day after the surrender of Saratoga, Capt. Stebbins and his company took the trail for home, the blood of each tingling with the consciousness that he had done something to bring about this glorious result.

We must leave to the imagination the stories these gallant soldiers told to their neighbors and one another while peacefully smoking their pipes at their evening haunt in the store of Col. David Field, which stood under the folds of the liberty flag, opposite the home of their Captain.

Comparatively little is known of Capt. Stebbins's military history during the closing years of the war. In 1779 and 1780 he is in lists of soldiers "serving short terms from Deerfield." In 1781 he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the "Fifth regiment of militia in the County of Hampshire." This commission signed by John Hancock, Governor of Massachusetts, now hangs in Memorial Hall. This year Stebbins enlisted for three years or the war. In the late autumn of 1783 Washington discharged all the soldiers whom he had so enlisted.

Lieut.-Col. Stebbins assisted Gov. Hancock in the troublous times of Shays's Rebellion, and the arms taken from these truculent malcontents were stored for safe keeping in his garret. With all the temptations of the owners to recover their arms by force, Gov. Hancock must have had great confidence in the martial or mental power of the Lieutenant-Colonel.

May 22, 1788, Lieut.-Col. Stebbins was commissioned by Gov. Hancock, Colonel of the Second Massachusetts regiment.

On the death of Washington, Deerfield had appropriate and imposing ceremonies. It was certainly fitting that Col. Stebbins should be one of five who conducted the obsequies on that occasion.

In addition to his active military career Col. Stebbins performed his part in the civil life of the community. He was eight years on the board of selectmen, and often held minor offices of the town.

Col. Stebbins was much interested in education and was a member of a corporation which established a private school on the Town Street. He was one of four citizens of Deerfield who petitioned for and secured from the General Court a charter for the Deerfield Academy in 1797. In 1806 he presented a planetarium and lunarium to the collection of scientific apparatus of the Academy, thus showing his interest in scientific studies.

We have followed the career of Joseph Stebbins so far as known, and have found him always and early in the foremost ranks of workers. He played his part faithfully and well at the outbreak of the Revolution, the time of his country's direst need. He lived to see the colonies free, and a nation leading the world.

Footnote.—The cover of this number bears a picture of the cocked hat of Colonel Joseph Stebbins, and his sword carried at the battle of Bunker Hill.

THE GOOD OLD DAYS

By Raymond B. Fosdick,
(Formerly Commissioner of Accounts, City of New York)

No one can consistently follow the current newspapers and magazines without gathering the impression that something is radically wrong with government in the United States. Our scheme seems to break down a great deal. We read of it on every hand. We hear of the shame of cities and the wholesale corruption of electorates. It is a favorite topic of lecturers and after dinner speakers. It has become a by-word, a symbol, deeply rooted in public imagination. The impression seems to be spread abroad that popular government in this country has struck a snag, that the governmental machinery has been taken out of the hands of the people, and that graft and corruption are undermining the foundations of the republic. Moreover, in the minds of a great many people there rests the idea that these insidious influences in American politics have developed in our generation. That is, that we received our form of government and our political ideas pure and unspotted from the fathers; that they handed down to us an unpolluted ideal which had been fought and died for; and that somehow or other, in *our* time, it has become corrupted—the shadow of what it once was. According to this view, we are the prodigal sons who have abused the bounty of our fathers.

It was not long ago that a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination gave vent in eloquent utterance to this idea which I am sure is common with a great many people. He talked of Bunker Hill and the fight for liberty; he spoke of the government by the people which was decreed by the inspired constitutional convention of 1787; he said that the

*An address delivered before the People's Institute at Cooper Union, N. Y.

first foreign students of American democracy were loud in their praises of our success, but that latterly, in these days, and apparently within the two decades just completed, corruption had crept insidiously into our midst and the wedge of vicious influence had been driven between the people and their government. In other words, he gave to his audience a vision of the good old days, when there was no graft and no corruption, when our government was truly a government by the people and for the people, when we conducted our public affairs with dignity and decorum in democratic simplicity. And I fancy that there are a great many citizens who look back upon the splendid visions of those old days with sighs of regret at our modern tendencies, in whose hearts there is the sincere cry of "Back to Democracy: Once more let the People Rule!"

Perhaps, therefore, it would be profitable for us if we could consider for a little while the ideals of those good old days. How was it that democracy succeeded so well in the time of our fathers? How was it that the people controlled so wisely and so thoroughly the machinery of their government? Upon what food did our fathers eat that they should grow so great? I fancy that we can profit by the answers to these questions. If there was a secret to successful democracy in those days, perhaps it is applicable today. Moreover, it pays occasionally, I believe, to sit down quietly and determine just where we are, to measure by careful historical standards our success and our failures. Once in so often the wise merchant stops his sales and take stock of his goods. Let us, if we can, take stock of our national growth.

I suggest, therefore, a review of the good old days of our fathers. It is not necessary to waste much time upon the Colonial period before the American Revolution. Our government was not yet formed. We were under English rule. And evidently the ideals for which our fathers are celebrated by a grateful posterity were not in operation on the other side of the Atlantic. We are shocked to learn that the English contemporaries of our illustrious sires were quite given over to a thorough-going corruption in carrying on their public business. George III and his cabinet min-

isters resorted to bribery in nearly every form to buy support for their policies. Money, pensions and jobs were freely and openly used to reward friends or to purchase votes in Parliament. In 1762 a shop was publicly opened at the British pay office whither the members of the House of Commons flocked to receive the wages of their votes. Twenty-five thousand pounds were issued in a single morning. During the period immediately prior to our American revolution, the British Parliament was, according to Mr. Walpole, "a nest of unblushing corruption." Is it not remarkable, therefore, that our fathers, sprung from the same stock and in the day and generation, should have kept themselves so spotless?

But let us pass to the heroic scenes of the Revolution, to the great fight for liberty and equal representation. Here we shall surely find an unselfish effort at government, pure and undefiled. But what is this? John Adams, the great patriot, writes that the Continental Congress during the Revolution was "debauched and inefficient." "The rage for office was great," he says. "The Congress was torn to pieces by disputes over spoils." The President of Congress in 1778 speaks of the scenes of "venality, peculation and fraud" which accompany the operations of Congress. Washington wrote of the gathering of patriots: "Party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day." And this was the Continental Congress of our fathers.

But still John Adams was naturally petulant—and perhaps Mr. Washington was tired when he wrote that sentence. Let us pass on. The government after all was not established until the constitutional convention of 1787. Perhaps the ideals of the fathers had not yet crystallized. But when once the ship of state is launched, surely we shall find the fathers at their best! We shall find popular government in its truest sense! We shall find the good old days!

The constitutional convention of 1787—what an epoch it marked *in* our history! But let us look a little closer. The idea of popular government as we understand it—that is, government by the people and for the people—the machinery of government in the hands of the governed—this

idea apparently did not appeal to the fathers. It is evident that their desire was not to enable the people to control the government, but to enable the government to control the people. The framers of the constitution made not intentional provisions for the control of government by public opinion. The idea could hardly have occurred to them. As a matter of fact, public opinion in the modern sense of the word was not then known. Democracy was "synonymous with confusion and licentiousness" as one of the speakers in the Constitutional Convention expressed it. The people could not be trusted. They could not be trusted to elect their United States Senators directly, but must have an intermediary body perform the function for them. They could not be trusted to select their president: that must be left to the electoral college. As one of the great fathers expressed it in the constitutional convention: "To leave the choice of the chief magistrate to the people would be as unnatural as to leave a choice of colors to a blind man." Popular government? Not at all! The fathers had no burning faith in the ultimate good sense of the people. Edmund Randolph traced the political evils of the country to "the turbulence and follies of democracy." Alexander Hamilton frankly dreaded democracy and wanted to give the rich and well-born, as he expressed it, a distinct and permanent share in the government. Listen to his argument in the Constitutional Convention as reported by one of his contemporaries:

> "The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God. However generally this maxim has been quoted and believed it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing. They seldom judge or determine right. Can a democratic assembly be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy."

Similarly, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts spoke as follows:

> "The evils we experience flow from the excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are the dupes of pretended patriots."

In plan and structure the constitution was devised to check the power of popular majorities. It was as late as 1820 that Sir Robert Peel, representing the sentiment of his time, spoke contemptuously of "that great compound of folly, weakness, prejudice, wrong-feeling, obstinacy, and newspaper paragraphs which is called public opinion."

But you may say: perhaps it is true that in their political philosophy the fathers distrusted popular rule. But regardless of their theories, the machinery of government was actually lodged in the hands of the people, was it not? What does it matter whether our forefathers agreed with it or not, as long as the people had it—as long as they were free agents to carry on their own government? But listen! Our fathers in the good old days of the constitution had no idea of conferring upon all citizens the right to vote. Suffrage was jealoulsy restricted. It was not for the mass of the people to vote. The vote was a privilege to be exercised by "the wealthy and well-born" as Alexander Hamilton expressed it. It was a privilege that was guarded by property and religious qualifications. In the State of New York in these good old days a citizen had to possess an estate or pay a rent of fifty shillings a year before he could vote for an assemblyman. It was 1822 after most of the framers of the constitution were in their graves, before manhood suffrage was established in New York. In New Jersey the qualification for suffrage was in the days of the constitution real estate to the value of fifty pounds. No citizen of Massachusetts could be a governor if he did not own one thousand pounds worth of real estate, nor a senator unless he owned three hundred pounds worth. Religious restrictions were almost universal in this country. In New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, the governors, members of the legislature, and chief officers of State had to be Protestants. In Massachusetts and Maryland they had to be "Christians" (the word is quoted from the statute). North Carolina provided that no person who should "deny the being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion or the divine authority either of the Old or New Testament" should be eligible for office or other place of trust. Tennessee said: "No person who denies

the being of God or a future state of rewards and punishments shall hold any office in the civil department of the state." Pennsylvania drew the line on atheists: "Nor can any man who acknowledges the being of a God be justly deprived or abridged of any civil right." In Delaware, office-holders had to subscribe to the doctrine of the Trinity. These were the good old days!

But let us look a little further in our quest for the good old days. Perhaps you are saying that political methods were better in those days even if our fathers were a little unsteady in their views on popular government. The high ideals that inspired the fight for liberty must surely have inspired clean political processes. In other words, in those days there could have been no graft and no corruption, and even if suffrage was restricted because of an erroneous political conception, the actual voters got what they wanted. The tools of Democracy were intact.

Let us see. In 1791, (and the example is picked at random from the political history of the time) George Clinton ran against John Jay for the governorship of New York. Both were ardent patriots. Both had done much for the cause of American independence. And yet Clinton's patriotism did not prevent him from resorting to desperate means. The vote was close, and when at last it became apparent that Jay had been elected, Clinton caused the ballots of two whole counties to be thrown out. These counties had rolled up large majorities for Jay. Clinton was thereupon declared elected, and served his term. His picture hangs in the State Capitol and is revered by thousands of visitors every year who, as they gaze upon his handsome features, doubtless contemplate his lofty purpose in laying the foundation of democracy in this state. But John Jay, that eminent patriot, the man who did so much for the constitution in 1787, what became of him? He had his revenge. In 1801 he was elected governor of New York. But he could not make the appointments to office that he wished. The state constitution stood in his way. But what was the constitution between friends? He had the constitution changed. The patronage was delivered into the hands of his own party, and he wiped the Clintonites off the face of the political map. Those were the good old days!

Let us look a little further into the political methods of our fathers. In 1812, the Republicans of Massachusetts found it politically expedient to break the power of the Federalists. But the Federalists were in the majority. So the Republicans, under the leadership of that venerable patriot, Governor Gerry, invented an ingenious scheme for robbing the majority of its power. They called it the Gerrymander. It consisted of a plan whereby the existing election districts or units of representation were cut up and reformed, so that a large number of Republicans would be opposed in the same district by a smaller number of Federalists. The invention worked beyond expectations. Our fathers were delighted. Massachusetts having instituted the device, it was immediately followed in New York, New Jersey and Maryland. In the city of New York, two wards were joined to Long Island to form an election district with the desired result that the Federalist majority was shattered. And these were the good old days!

Shall I go further? In 1815, the Republicans of New York State stole the assembly from the Federalists by resorting to the simple method of throwing out in cold blood the one man whose vote gave the Federalists the majority. In 1812, the members of the New York State assembly signed a resolution, each man pledging himself not to take "any reward or profit, direct or indirect, for any vote on any measure." Three days after the resolution was signed, the members were accusing each other of breaking it.

The good old days seem a bit elusive. And there is no disguising the fact that the days of the fathers of our constitution were not good, that is when we judge them by the standards of our time. As Professor McMaster remarks, a little study of long forgotten politics is enough to convince anyone that in filibustering and gerrymandering, in stealing governorships and legislatures, in using force at the polls, in colonizing and in distributing patronage, in all the fraud and tricks that go to make up the worst form of practical politics, the men who founded our state and national governments were, according to our standards, politically depraved. If we are looking for the good old times, for the days of pure and unspotted democracy, we will not find them in the infancy of this republic.

But let us continue the search. The good old days must have existed some time, else where did we get our tradition of them? Moreover, it is hardly fair to judge an experiment in democracy like the United States by the first thirty years of its existence. It takes time to get the machinery adjusted; it takes a generation properly to educate the people to new responsibilities. Let us leave the period of the constitutional fathers and take up the second generation. Here we shall surely find what we seek after—a government uncorrupted and incorruptible, a citizenship pure and undefiled. Perhaps we shall find it in our own city of New York as she existed ninety years ago. Let us look.

Ninety years ago we had in New York City but one public school, which was maintained by public subscription. Water was supplied chiefly by the Manhattan Company, by means of bored wooden logs laid underground from the reservoir in Chambers Street. No fire department worthy of the name was dreamed of, and every blaze had the city at its mercy. The streets were unclean. Only two or three thoroughfares were fit for the passage of carriages. Briefly speaking, the city was filthy and neglected; its public improvements and expenditures were in a chaotic state.

This does not constitute a very favorable setting for our good old times. But let us get at the kernel beneath the exterior. Is it possible that petty graft existed in those days as in these? Is it possible that public rights were disregarded and sacrificed for the benefit of a chosen few? Alas for our theories! The history of the City of New York in the first part of the nineteenth century is a record of shameless corruption, in comparison with which our modern New York is Utopia. I will not weary you with details. Public opinion seemed to be lifeless. Exposure followed exposure only to result in the return of the same old gang to office. Public expenditures were made by committees of the Board of Aldermen who refused to render any accounting of what they spent. Public contracts were let to public officials. A collector of the port, who stole a million and a half of public money, was allowed to go unmolested for seven months after the theft was publicly known, because of his political influence. Land owned by the

municipality in the heart of the city was sold at low prices to politicians. In this way we lost our dock rights on the water front and our chance to develop an extensive park system in Manhattan. The United States District Court convened for a while in Tammany Hall because Tammany Hall needed the rent that was paid by the city. Our streets were an abomination of filth; yellow fever and cholera three times devastated the city—and in 1822 it was so deserted as a result of disease that grass grew in the principal thoroughfares. Fraud and violence were customarily used on election day. Wagon loads of repeaters were openly taken from ward to ward to vote. In 1830, Walter Bowne was elected Mayor of city by the Aldermen through bribery that was never punished. In 1832 votes for President Jackson were openly solicited at $5.00 each. In 1838, 200 roughs were brought by the Whigs from Philadelphia to steer the repeaters at the polls. Inmates of the House of Detention who promised to vote the Whig ticket were set at liberty. In 1839, the Albany police brought twenty-three repeaters to help with the election in New York. In 1840 it was shown that the police justices made a practice of extorting money from prisoners, and of shielding from arrest or conviction counterfeiters, thieves and street walkers. Nothing was done in the matter. The police justices continued in office. These were the good old days!

Shall I continue? Just for a moment. From 1840 to 1870, when Tweed came into power, the political history of New York reads like a debauch. Assessments for improvements never actually made were laid on the taxpayers. The aldermen participated in all the profitable jobs. Convicts were allowed to escape from Blackwell's Island on condition that they vote as their keepers ordered. Prisoners whose terms had expired were kept at public expense until election day to get their votes. The inmates of the Almshouse and the Penitentiary were forced to manufacture articles for the use and profit of the officials of those departments. In 1851 the so-called "forty thieves" were in power in the Board of Aldermen. Election frauds were so numerous that they failed to excite comment. Ballot boxes were stolen. Boys and paupers voted without interference. The police

who were appointed for one year by the Board of Aldermen were utterly demoralized. In 1851, the 8th and 9th Avenue railroad franchises were purchased from the Board of Aldermen by a boodle fund of $50,000. The Third Avenue Railroad franchise was purchased by $30,000 paid in bribes. The Williamsburg Ferry Lease was purchased by a $20,000 boodle fund. The Wall Street Ferry lease was similarly disposed of. The board of Aldermen sold the Gansevoort Market property to a Tammany politician for $160,000, in the face of other bids of $225,000 and $300,000, respectively. In fact, as was stated at the time, bribery was considered a joke. The Aldermen, the police, and all the city officials extorted vast sums of money in every possible way. And note this: such was the condition of public opinion that the people paid it. It was part of the game. These were the good old days.

Shall we go further? Surely not to the days of Tweed in the seventies when the gang stole $150,000,000 of the people's money and Tweed shrugged his broad shoulders and asked, "What are you going to do about it?" Our quest is hopeless in that quarter. Nor can we gain comfort by following it to the later days of John Kelly and Richard Croker. But where shall we turn? To the National Government? Listen to George Frisbee Hoar of Massachusetts, rising in his seat in Congress on May 6, 1876:

> "My own public life has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office. But in that brief period I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt, from the friendliest lips, that when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and the political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and a by-word throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Com-

> mittee on Military Affairs in the House, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world binding together the continent and uniting the two seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our nationl triumph and exaltation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in highest places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used when gained is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President."

We cannot dodge the issue. Graft and corruption existed in the thirties and forties and fifties and sixties and seventies more than we know anything about today. In 1872, the investigation of the Credit-Mobilier scandal brought to light the information that Congressman Oakes Ames, of Massachusetts, the leading spirit in the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad, had sold to many of his fellow Congressmen blocks of stock in the holding-company of that railroad, in spite of the fact that legislation affecting the interest of the company was pending in Washington. Three hundred and forty-three shares of the Credit-Mobilier were transferred to Ames as Trustee. "I shall put these," he wrote from Washington in a private letter, "where they will do most good to us. I am here on the spot and can better judge where they should go." Even the Speaker of the House of Representatives was implicated and was shown to have perjured himself before the investigating committee in his attempt to conceal his operations. Two members of the House and a United States Senator were recommended by the committee for dismissal on the grounds of corruption, while some of the best known figures in Congress were smirched with the taint.

But this was not all. In 1875, an investigation set on foot by the Secretary of the Treasury brought to light the fact that the private secretary of President Grant was one of the leading actors in the St. Louis whisky ring which had defrauded the government out of nearly $3,000,000 in internal revenue. The secretary was indicted by the Grand Jury for conspiracy and while he was later acquitted at his trial it was under such circumstances as left no doubt that he had shared the profits of the ring. Hardly had this discovery been made known to the country when the chairman of the Committee on Expenditures of the House of Representatives announced that his committee had "found at the very threshold of their investigations uncontradicted evidence of malfeasance in office by the Secretary of War." It was shown that this officer had been receiving regularly sums which totalled approximately $20,000 for his influence in securing for a henchman a well-paid government job. The committee recommended that the Secretary be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors, but on the same day the Secretary resigned. These were the good old days!

As if this were not enough, the country was further humiliated by the spectacle of the chief aspirant for the Republican nomination for President—the plumed knight, New England's favorite son—attempting without success to persuade the country and the convention that he was not tainted with corruption, and losing the nomination because the people were not convinced. Indeed, forty years ago was a time of shame and dishonor and the centennial of American independence in 1876 was celebrated by the thoughtful people of the country in sack-cloth and ashes, in a period of national ill-repute. Lowell's satirical poem, called "The World's Fair," 1876, is illustrative of popular feeling:—

"Columbia, puzzled what she should display
Of true home-make on her Centennial Day,
Asked Brother Jonathan: he scratched his head,
Whittled awhile reflectively, and said,
Your own invention and own making too?
Why any child could tell ye what to do:

Show 'em your Civil Service and explain
How all men's loss is everybody's gain;

Show your State Legislatures; show your Rings
And challenge Europe to produce such things
As high officials sitting half in sight
To share the plunder and to fix things right;
If that don't fetch her, why you only need
To show your latest style in martyrs—Tweed:
She'll find it hard to hide her spiteful tears
At such advance in one poor hundred years."

Good old days? Our search is ended, we shall never find them, for they never existed. *There were no good old days!*

Perhaps you are thinking that the picture I have drawn is an exceedingly gloomy one. But at least we have gotten this far: There were no good old days. Insidious influences in American politics have not first appeared in our time. We are not the degenerate sons of our fathers. If we have sinned in our generation, so did they in theirs.

But it seems to me that there is ground for a great deal of hope in what we have been reviewing. It is true that democratic machinery has broken down many times in the history of the republic, not because the system was faulty, but because the people who tried to run it were faulty. It is true today that corruption steals in when the door is open, and the price of liberty is eternal vigilance. But can any man as he reads the history of his country or his city fail to believe that there has been a steady advance not only in our ideal of democracy, but in our attainment of the ideal? Let no one mistake it: this is more truly a popular government than it ever has been in our history. The machinery of government—the tools of democracy, are controlled by the people as they never have been before: and we have so far advanced from the days of our fathers, not only in theory but in practice, that those old times seem wretched in comparison.

In the face of the advance which we have made in the last one hun-

dred years, it is wicked to talk of degeneration and decay. When the nineteenth century opened there was not a civic organization in the entire land. Public opinion was uneducated and unintelligent. Partisanship in politics was carried to an extreme of bitterness and violence with which we are utterly unfamiliar. Our public institutions reflected the coarseness and callousness of the time. Our jails were sinks of filth and depravity. The whipping post, the branding iron, and the treadmill were in constant use. When the 19th century opened there was not a blind asylum, nor a deaf and dumb asylum, nor a lunatic asylum, nor a house of refuge in all our land. As Dr. McMaster has pointed out, we have turned our prisons from seminaries of crime into reformatories of crime. We have cut down the number of crimes punishable with death fifteen to one. We have abolished imprisonment for debt. We have exterminated slavery. We have improved conditions among working men. We have covered our country with schools and libraries and institutions of civic and social betterment. We have committed our government more and more into the hands of the governed. We have developed a popular sensitiveness to social evils and injustice. We are steadily raising the standard of public service and drawing the line more sharply and distinctly between right and wrong in public life. We are beginning to see what our fathers never dreamed: that the sole cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy. And so when the pessimist rises in his place to croak "Back to Democracy," my answer to him would be that democracy does not lie behind, it lies ahead; and that while there are evils enough at the present day they do not begin to compare in danger or extent with those out of which we have come.

In times of stress like these we need to believe in ourselves and in our capacity for growth as a people. History is the cure for pessimism.

COLONEL JOSEPH READ'S REGIMENT

COLONEL JOSEPH READ'S 6TH REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, APRIL–JULY 1775. COLONEL JOSEPH READ'S 20TH REGIMENT, ARMY OF THE UNITED COLONIES, JULY–OCTOBER 1775.

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

This regiment was composed principally of residents of Worcester and Norfolk Counties in about equal proportion, with some men from Middlesex and Bristol Counties.

The earliest list of Field and Staff officers is the following:

Col. Joseph Read, Uxbridge,	engaged	April 24, 1775
Lt. Col. Ebenezer Clap, Walpole,	"	" 24, 1775
Major Calvin Smith, Mendon,	"	" 24, 1775
Adjt. John Holden	"	" 24, 1775
Qtm'r William Jennison	"	" 24, 1775
Surg. Levi Willard	"	" 24, 1775
" Mate John Adams	"	" 24, 1775

The following list of commissioned officers of this regiment, May 18, 1775, is given in Force's American Archives 4–11, p. 823.

"Joseph Read, Colonel
Ebenezer Clap, Lieutenant Colonel
Calvin Smith, Major
Hezikiah Chapman, Chaplin
John Holden, Adjutant
William Jennison, Quartermaster
Levi Willard, Surgeon
Joseph Adams, Surgeon's Mate.

Captains	Lieutenants	Ensigns
Oliver Pond	W. Messenger	Elias Bacon
Samuel Payson	Royal Kollock	Enoch Hewens
Andrew Peters	Levi Aldrich	William Darling
William Briggs	Simeon Leach	Jed Southworth
Seth Bullard	Thomas Pettee	Ezekial Plympton
Samuel Warren	Joseph Cody	Geo. Whipple
David Bacheller	Benjamin Farrar	Robert Taft
Samuel Cobb	Japhet Daniels	Amos Ellis
Moses Knap	Nehemiah White	Benjamin Capron
Edward Seagrave	Job Knapp	Peter Taft

Officers 30; Men 564;
Total 594.

Watertown May 24, 1775.

Received the commissions for the officers above mentioned
Joseph Read, Colonel."

Another list bearing the same date gives the number of men in each company as follows:

"Captains

Oliver Pond	64	Samuel Warren	55
Samuel Payson	57	David Bacheller	57
Andrew Peters	59	Samuel Cobb	53
William Briggs	50	Moses Knap	53
Seth Bullard	60	Edward Seagrave	56
		Number of men	564
		Officers	30
		Total	594"

In the records of the Committee of Safety, May 20, 1775, the following entry appears:

"Colonel Joseph Read having satisfied this committee that his regiment was full, a certificate was given him of the same, and it was recommended to the honorable, the Provincial Congress, that his regiment might be commissioned accordingly.

Colonel Read had thirteen sets of regulations for the army delivered him by order."

The principal towns represented in this regiment were as follows:

Captains

Samuel Warren, Mendon, Hopkinton, Uxbridge, Bellingham, Cumberland (R. I.) Pomfret (Ct.).
Moses Knap, Mansfield, Wrentham, Attleboro, Norton, Stoughton.
William Briggs, Stoughton.
Samuel Cobb, Bellingham, Wrentham, Medway, Mendon, Holliston, Uxbridge.
Oliver Pond, Wrentham, Dedham.
Edward Seagrave, Uxbridge, Douglas, Brimfield, Sutton.
Andrew Peters, Mendon, Bellingham, Harvard, Uxbridge, Bennington (Vt.).
David Batchelor, Upton, Northbridge.
Samuel Payson, Stoughtham, Stoughton, Cumberland (R. I.).
Seth Bullard, Walpole, Medfield, Dedham."

During the period of service in the Provincial Army, prior to July 1st, this regiment was numbered the 6th, but when the army was reorganized July 1, 1775, it became the 20th regiment in the Army of the United Colonies.

July 4, 1775, from the records of the Committee of Safety, we read that "nine small arms were delivered to Colonel Joseph Read, for the use of his regiment, amounting, as by appraisement, to seventeen pounds, fourteen shillings, for which guns a receipt was taken in the minute book."

During the remainder of the year this regiment was stationed at Roxbury.

The officers whose names appear in connection with this regiment in 1775 attained rank in the Revolutionary War as follows:

1 colonel, 3 lieutenant colonels (1 commandant), 3 majors (1 commandant) 14 captains, 7 first lieutenants, 6 second lieutenants, 1 surgeon, 1 surgeon's mate, 1 chaplain and 1 quartermaster.

Twenty-six out of the thirty-eight officers herein named had seen ser-

vice in the French and Indian Wars or in the Provincial Militia, two of them having held the rank of lieutenant and two of ensign.

The following table shows the strength of the regiment each month through the year:

Date	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Coms.	Rank & File	Total
July	29	4	53	495	581
August	25	4	48	497	574
September	26	4	45	495	570
October	24	4	43	470	541
November	24	4	43	459	530
December	23	2	38	466	529

COLONEL JOSEPH READ of Uxbridge was probably the man of that name who was a drummer in Captain John Taft's 2nd Foot Company of Uxbridge, March 25, 1757. He was Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Fletcher's Second Westford Company, in Colonel John Bulkley's Regiment. October 7, 1774 Captain Joseph Read of Uxbridge was a representative from that town in the First Provincial Congress. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as Lieutenant in Colonel Silas Wheelock's 7th Worcester County Regiment. Five days later he was engaged as Colonel of the 6th Regiment in the Provincial Army. When the army was reorganized in July 1775 his regiment became the 20th in the Army of the United Colonies. He served through the year at Roxbury, and during 1776 was Colonel of the 13th Regiment, Massachusetts Line.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL EBENEZER CLAPP of Walpole was the son of Deacon Joshua and Abigail (Bullard) Clapp. He was born November 17, 1731. April 16, 1766 he was commissioned Ensign in Captain Seth Kingsbury's (Walpole) Company, in Colonel Jeremey Gridley's Regiment. September 16, 1771 he was nominated to hold this rank in Captain Seth Kingbury's (Walpole) Company in Colonel Eliphalet Pond's 1st Suffolk County Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant

Colonel in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year under that officer. During 1776 he was Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. He died October 20, 1817.

MAJOR CALVIN SMITH of Mendon was born in 1731. March 28, 1757 he was a private in Captain Willian Thayer's (2nd Mendon) Company, train band, alarm list. In August of that year on the Fort William Henry alarm he served as private in Captain Phineas Lovett's Company, Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment, marching from Mendon to Westfield. During 1758 he was a Lieutenant in Captain Nathan Tyler's (Mendon) Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment on an expedition to the westward. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Major in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Major in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment in the Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. March 10, 1779 he became Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the 13th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. January 1, 1781 he was transferred to the 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, serving in that regiment also as Lieutenant Colonel Commandant. He served until June 12, 1783. He died August 8, 1802 at the age of 71 years, 2 months, 21 days. A S. A. R. marker has been placed over his grave in the old cemetery in Mendon, Mass.

ADJUTANT JOHN HOLDEN of Mendon was born about 1737. May 5, 1756, he was a private in Captain Nathan Tyler's Company, Colonel Richard Gridley's Regiment. The records of this service state that he was at that time nineteen years of age, a resident of Mendon, and that his birthplace was in Sutton. Another record shows an earlier service in Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment. He was a member of Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Thwing's Company, October 11, 1756, at which time he was reported "sick" on an expedition to Crown Point. August 16th, 1757 on an alarm he marched as Corporal in Captain Phineas Lovett's Company, Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment. From March 26th to De-

cember 3, 1759 he was a Sergeant in Captain John Furness's Company, Colonel William Williams's Regiment. April 25, 1760 he became Sergeant in Captain Jonathan Shore's Company, serving under that officer until August 15th and from that date to December 3rd, under Captain Daniel Read. April 19, 1775, "on the alarm occasioned by the excursion of the King's Troups" he marched as Adjutant in Colonel Silas Wheelock's (7th Worcester County) Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Adjutant in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Payson's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777, he became First Lieutenant in Captain Thomas Barnes's Company, Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. The records show that at least a portion of this time he was in Captain Japhet Daniel's Company in the same regiment. March 10, 1779 he was promoted Captain. He served until his resignation, April 13, 1780.

CHAPLAIN HEZEKIAH CHAPMAN of Uxbridge was born in Saybrook, Ct., August 31, 1746. He was the son of Deacon Caleb and Thankful (Lord) Chapman. He graduated at Yale in 1766, studied divinity and was ordained pastor of the church at Uxbridge, January 27, 1774. In a list of officers in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, dated Camp Roxbury, May 18, 1775, his name appears as Chaplain of the regiment, and he served through the year. He returned to Uxbridge, and continued in charge of the church there until his resignation April 5, 1781. He afterward studied law, and went out West with a company of surveyors. He was lost in the woods and his remains, partly eaten by wild beasts, were found later.

SURGEON LEVI WILLARD of Mendon was probably the man of that name who was the son of Colonel Levi Willard, and who graduated from Harvard in 1775. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Surgeon in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and his name appears in a list of Surgeons approved by the 3rd Provincial Congress, July 4, 1775. He served through the year in that regiment.

SURGEON'S MATE JOSEPH ADAMS of Mendon was the son of Josiah and Sarah (Reed) Adams. He was born in Mendon, August 17, 1754. April 24, 1775 he enlisted as Surgeon's Mate in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. March 4, 1776 he enlisted as Surgeon in Colonel Eleazer Brook's 3rd Middlessex County Regiment. He served five days and then "marched to reinforce the Continental Army," becoming Surgeon's Mate in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment in that service. He served as Selectman of Mendon in 1809–12–13. He was a representative in the Legislature in 1809–13–15. He removed to Uxbridge in 1828, and died in that town May 13, 1830, aged 74 years, 4½ months.

QUARTERMASTER WILLIAM JENNISON of Mendon served as Sergeant in Captain William Jennison's Company of Minute Men, which marched on the alarm of April 19, 1775 to Roxbury and Cambridge. As he was also called William, Junior, he was probable the son of the Captain of this company. In a regimental return dated Roxbury, May 18, 1775, his name appears as Quartermaster in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment. He served through the year.

CAPTAIN DAVID BATCHELDOR (BACHELOR, etc.) of Northbridge, son of David "Batcheller", was born in Grafton, April 28, 1742. After his marriage he settled in Northbridge. March 28, 1757, he was a member of the alarm list in Captain John Spring's 1st Uxbridge Company. His name appears as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, in the list of officers dated May 18, 1775. He served in this regiment through the year. December 8, 1776 he marched as Captain in Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Tyler's 3rd Worcester County Regiment on an alarm to Rhode Island, serving one month, fifteen days at Providence. May 8, 1778 he was detached to serve in Colonel Asa Wood's 3rd Worcester County Regiment at North River. He served until January 29, 1779. He was a prominent citizen of Northbridge, and held many town and church offices. His will was executed in 1805.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRIGGS of Stoughton was the son of Nathaniel Briggs, and was born in Taunton about 1736. From May 31st to September 15, 1754 he served as centinal in Captain Thomas Cobb's Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment. Before April 15, 1756 he enlisted in Captain Joseph Hodges's Company, Colonel Ephraim Leonard's Regiment, on a Crown Point Expedition. May 5, 1756 he was serving under the same Captain in Colonel Richard Gridley's Regiment, his age being given as twenty, and his occupation tanner. In a roll dated October 11, 1756 he was called "drummer" in this same company. May 14, 1757 he was drummer in Captain Thomas Cobb's 4th Taunton Company, and in June of that year he was in Captain Joseph Hodge's Company, Colonel Ephraim Leonard's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain in a Company of Minute Men from Stoughton, serving twelve days. May 1, 1775 he enlisted as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. No further record of his Revolutionary service has been found. He died August 11, 1819.

CAPTAIN SETH BULLARD of Walpole was the son of Solomon and Jemima Bullard. He was born in Walpole, January 6, 1756-7. He marched as Captain of a Marlboro Company in Colonel John Smith's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 1, 1775 he enlisted as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and he served through the year. February 10, 1776 he was commissioned Second Major in Colonel Ephraim Wheelock's 4th Suffolk County Regiment. August 9, 1777 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, First Major of the same Regiment. In September 1777, he was First Major of the same regiment under Colonel Benjamin Hawes. August 18, 1778 he was engaged to serve in Colonel John Daggett's 4th Bristol County Regiment, and he served seventeen days at Rhode Island. From June to August 1780 he served as Major-Commandant of the 4th Suffolk County Regiment on the Rhode Island alarm. November 27, 1780 he was chosen by ballot in the House of Representatives, Muster Master for Suffolk County.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL COBB of Mendon (also given Holliston) was born about 1737. As a resident of the latter place he enlisted, May 2, 1758 in Captain Cox's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment. From April 5th to November 14, 1762 he was a Sergeant in Captain Ebenezer Cox's Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain William Jennison's Company of Minute Men. April 22, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's regiment and served through the year. In a certificate sworn to April 25, 1818 he stated that he had served during 1775 as above reported and that he left the army in the early part of January 1776. He declared that his age on the date of the certificate was 81 years and that he was in need of assistance. He died in Holliston December 20, 1822 at the age of 85 years.

CAPTAIN MOSES KNAP, son of Moses and Patience Knap was born in Norton, December 9, 1743. In 1757 he was a private in Colonel Ephraim Leonard's 2nd Norton Company. From April 6, 1759 until July 26, 1760 he served in Captain Jonathan Eddy's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment, at Fort Cumberland and Nova Scotia. From June 3rd to December 26, 1761 he served as private in Captain Lemuel Bent's Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Sergeant in Captain Abial Clap's Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Daggett's Regiment. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel William Shepard's 4th Regiment Massachusetts Line. November 5, 1778 he was promoted to the rank of Major in Colonel Benjamin Tupper's 11th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. January 1, 1781 he was transferred to the 10th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, then under command of Colonel Benjamin Tupper, who had been transferred on the same date from the 11th Regiment. In January 1783 he was transferred to the 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, under command of Lieutenant Colonel David Cobb and he served until June 12, 1783. He

was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He died November 7, 1809.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL PAYSON of Stoughtonham was born about 1735. As a resident of Stoughton he was a private in Major Stephen Miller's Company, Colonel Josiah Brown's Regiment on a Crown Point expedition, September 29, 1755. From September 15th to December 14, 1755 he was in Captain Joseph Bent's Company in the Crown Point expedition, probably under Major Stephen Miller. From March 29th to October 17, 1756 he served in Major Stephen Miller's Company, Colonel Bagley's Regiment on a Fort William Henry alarm and his age at this time was given as 21, and his residence and birthplace as Stoughton. From April 4th to June 24, 1758 he was a sentinel in Captain Samuel Billings's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. He was a private in Captain Timothy Hammond's Company from March 22nd to November 16, 1762. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Captain in Colonel John Greaton's Regiment of Minute Men. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment Continental Army. No further record of his service has been found.

CAPTAIN ANDREW PETERS of Mendon was born in Medfield January 24, 1742. From March 12th to December 5, 1760 he was a private in Captain Timothy Hamant's Company, and is described as "servant to Adm. Peters." He responded to the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 as a member of Captain John Albee's 1st Mendon Company, which marched to Roxbury. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and served through the year. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he was commissioned Major in Colonel John Bailey's 2nd Regiment, Massachusetts Line. July 1, 1779 he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel in Timothy Bigelow's 15th Regiment, receiving his commission November 26th of that year. He served in this rank until January 1, 1781.

He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati. He died at Westborough, February 5, 1822.

CAPTAIN OLIVER POND of Wrentham, son of Ephraim, Junior and Michal Pond, was born about 1738. From March 27th to May 23, 1758 he was a member of Captain Ebenezer Cox's Company, in Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. March 28, 1759 at the age of twenty-one, he enlisted in Colonel Samuel Miller's Regiment. A note in this connection states that he was at Lake George in 1758. From March 28, 1759 to July 22, 1760, he was Sergeant in Captain Moses Curtis's Company in Nova Scotia (or what is now St. John, N. B.) In 1771 he was Ensign in Captain John Smith's (Wrentham) Company, Colonel Nathaniel Hatch's 3rd Suffolk County Regiment. He commanded a company of Minute Men which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. "General Oliver Pond" died in Wrentham, November 8, 1822, aged 85 years, "a Revolutionary officer."

CAPTAIN EDWARD SEAGRAVE of Uxbridge was born in England in 1722, son of John Seagrave. From December 17, 1755 to December 18, 1756, he was a member of Captain Andrew Dalrymple's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. Previous to joining this company he had been a member of Captain Taft's Company on Colonel Williams's Regiment. From March 29th to November 9, 1758 he was a Sergeant in Captain Andrew Dalrymple's Company, Colonel Jedediah Preble's Regiment. He was First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Read's Company of Militia which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. During the 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. June 19, 1778 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Nathaniel Wade's Regiment, and served

twenty-one days at Rhode Island. In 1779 he was Captain of the 2nd Uxbridge Company in Colonel Ezra Woods's 3rd Worcester County Regiment, but owing to the infirmities of age he asked leave to resign his commission and his resignation was accepted in Council, December 17, 1779. On the Rhode Island alarm in the summer of 1780 he served as a private from July 28th to August 7th, marching to Tiverton, R. I., and back. He was offered a colonelcy for bravery at White Plains, N. Y., but declined. He died in Uxbridge May, 1793.

CAPTAIN SAMUEL WARREN of Mendon was the son of Samuel and Tabitha (Stone) Warren, and was born in Grafton, April 20, 1733. He was a private in Captain Thomas Wiswall's 3rd Mendon Company (alarm list) March 23, 1757. He marched from Mendon to Westfield in Captain Phineas Lovett's Company, Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment on the Fort William Henry alarm. From May 2nd to May 24, 1758 he was a member of Captain Nathan Tyler, Junior's company, in Colonel William Williams's Regiment. He marched as a private in Captain William Jennison's Company of Minute Men on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and he served through the year. After the Revolution he held many responsible offices in Milford.

FIRST LIEUTENANT LEVI ALDRICH of Mendon served as a Corporal in Captain William Thayer's 2nd Company of Militia of Mendon as shown by the list dated March 28, 1757. Another list shows similar service in March 1758. He was Ensign in Captain Joseph Daniels's (3rd) Company which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 to Roxbury. April 26, 1775 he enlisted in the Army and was made First Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Peter's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment. He served through the year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOSEPH CODY of Mendon was the son of Isaac and Hannah Cody. He was born in Hopkinton May 2, 1736. He

was a sentinel in Captain John Jones's Company from April 5th to November 14, 1755, on a Crown Point Expedition. The name of Samuel Warren was given as his "father or master." On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, as a resident of Mendon he marched as Sergeant in Captain Gershom Nelson's Compay. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Warren's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. After the war he lived in Milford and was a carpenter by occupation.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JAPHETH DANIELS of Holliston was born about 1735. He was the son of Samuel and Experience (Adams) Daniels. From April 2nd to November 27, 1759 he was a private in Captain John Nixon's Company, Colonel John Jones's Regiment, on a Crown Point expedition. He was a private in Captain Ebenezer Cox's Company from April 5th to November 14, 1762. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Cobb's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. In 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Warren's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He served until June 3, 1783, the end of the war. He died in Holliston, March 3, 1805, aged 67 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN FARRER of Upton was the youngest son of Joseph and Mary Farrer. He was born in 1730. He was a sentinel in Captain Andrew Dalrymple's Company on a Crown Point expedition in 1755. In 1757 he marched from Upton to Westfield on the Fort William Henry alarm, as a private in Lieutenant James Whipple's Company, Colonel Artemas Ward's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he was Lieutenant in Captain Stephen Sadler's Company, Colonel Wheelock's Regiment. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain David Batcheldor's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's regiment and he served through the year. December 8, 1776 he marched

on a Rhode Island alarm as Captain in Lieutenant Colonel Nathan Tyler's 3rd Worcester County Regiment, and served until January 21, 1777. June 17, 1779 he was commissioned First Major in the 3rd Worcester County Regiment. June 26, 1780 he was engaged as Major in Colonel John Rand's 8th Worcester County Regiment, and served until October 11th of that year. He was a carpenter by occupation. He died in Upton March 2, 1807, aged 76 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOB KNAP of Douglas was born in 1740 the son of Seth Knap. April 27, 1757 he was a member of Lieutenant Colonel Samuel White's 1st Taunton Company, his name appearing in a training band list. In the summer of 1757 he was a private in Captain Ebenezer Dean's Company in Colonel Ephraim Leonard's Regiment on the Fort William Henry alarm. April 4th to September 13th, 1758 he was a private in Captain James Andrews's Company, Colonel Thomas Doty's Regiment. From April 28th to December 8, 1759 he was a Sergeant in Captain Thomas Cobb's Company on a Crown Point expedition. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Edward Seagrave's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. July 9, 1776 he was commissioned First Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Martin's 4th Company, Colonel Ezra Wood's 3rd Worcester County Regiment. From August 14th to November 29, 1777, he was a Captain in Colonel Job Cushing's Regiment, serving at the Northward. September 7, 1779 he was commissioned Captain of the 4th Company in Colonel Nathan Tyler's 3rd Worcester County Regiment. July 27, 1780 he entered service again in the same regiment, and served fifteen days on a Rhode Island alarm. From March 2nd to March 15, 1781 he again served as Captain in command of a company at Rhode Island. He died in Douglas, May 26, 1786, aged 46 years.

FIRST LIETUENANT ROYAL KOLLOCK of Stoughtonham. From April 22, to November 15, 1758 he was a Sergeant in Captain Samuel Billing's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, having seen pre-

vious service in Colonel Miller's Regiment. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Payson's Company, Colonel John Greaton's Regiment of Minute Men. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Payson's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. March 22, 1776 he marched from Stoughtonham to Braintree as Lieutenant in Captain Edward Bridge Savell's Company, Colonel Benjamin Gill's 3rd Suffolk County Regiment, serving two days. In a company return dated Camp at Ticonderoga, August 27, 1776, his name appears as First Lieutenant in Captain Louis Whiting's Company, Colonel Ephraim Wheelock's 4th Suffolk County Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT SIMEON LEACH of Stoughton was born about 1734. In a list dated, Stoughton, April 1, 1757, his name appears as a private in Captain Theophilus Curtis's Company, Colonel Miller's Regiment. From March 3rd to October 13, 1758 he was a Corporal in Captain Simeon Cary's Company, Colonel Thomas Doty's Regiment. April 2, 1759, he enlisted in Captain Thomas Clapp's Regiment, his age being given as 25 years. From April 2nd to November 1, 1759 he was a Sergeant in Captain Lemuel Dunbar's Company, Colonel John Thomas's Regiment at Halifax. He served as Sergeant in Captain Lemuel Dunbar's Company, Colonel Thyng's Regiment at Nova Scotia from January 1st to December 16, 1760. From May 6th to December 7, 1761, he held the same rank under the same Captain. He was First Lieutenant in Captain William Briggs's Company of Minute Men of the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain William Briggs's Company in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and served through the year. March 23, 1776 he was commissioned Captain of the 10th Company in Colonel Benjamin Gill's 3rd Suffolk County Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT WIGGLESWORTH MESSENGER of Wrentham was born about 1738. He was the son of Ebenezer Messenger. In a list dated April 27, 1757, his name appears as a member of Captain

Samuel Day's Company, in Colonel Miller's Regiment. March 26, 1758 he enlisted in Colonel Samuel Miller's Regiment, for service at Lake George. He was First Lieutenant in Captain Oliver Pond's Company of Minute Men on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Oliver Pond's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served until his discharge by General Washington, July 8, 1775. On a Rhode Island alarm in December 1776 he served for eight days in Captain Lemuel Kollock's Company, Colonel Ephraim Wheelock's Regiment.

FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS PETTEE of Walpole, was the son of Samuel and Eleza Pettee and was born in Walpole, October 15, 1740. He was in all probability, the man of this name who was a private in Captain Cox's Company, Colonel Ruggles's Regiment, in October, 1758, the return being sworn to at Wrentham, February 3, 1759. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Sergeant in Captain Seth Bullard's Company of Militia, Colonel John Smith's Regiment. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Seth Bullard's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. From February 1st to May 8, 1777 he was Lieutenant in Captain Perez Cushing's Company, Colonel Craft's Artillery Regiment, and from July 16th to August 21, 1777 he held the same rank in Captain Sabin Mann's Company, Colonel Thomas Carpenter's 1st Bristol County Regiment, on a Rhode Island alarm. September 23, 1777 he was chosen First Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Fisher's North Company of Wrentham in Colonel Benjamin Hawkes's 4th Suffolk County Regiment, his commission being dated September 27th of that year.

FIRST LIEUTENANT NEHEMIAH WHITE of Mansfield was a Sergeant in Captain Abial Clapp's Company of Minute Men in Colonel John Daggett's Regiment on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Moses Knap's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ELIAS BACON of Wrentham was the son of James and Mercy (Man) Bacon. He was born in Wrentham, Febuary 6, 1742-3. From March 12th to December 4, 1760, he was a private in Captain Ebenezer Cox's Company. He served as Sergeant in Captain Oliver Pond's Company which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment and served through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Oliver Pond's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. "Captain Elias Bacon" died in Wrentham, July 20, 1728, aged 86 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN CAPRON of Attleborough was born about 1728. April 8, 1757 he was a member of the alarm list in Captain Joseph Capron's 2nd Attleborough Company. From June 17th to December 28, 1761 at the age of thirty-three years, he was a private in Captain Lemuel Bent's "Attleberry" Company. He was probably the man of that name who served as a private in Captain Stephen Richard's Company of Minute Men which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 27, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Moses Knap's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT WILLIAM DARLING of Mendon was born about 1731. March 28, 1757 he was a member of Captain William Thayer's 2nd Mendon Company. April 6, 1759, as a resident of Mendon, aged 28 years, he enlisted in Colonel Abraham Williams's Regiment for the invasion of Canada. He marched as Sergeant in Captain Joseph Daniels's 3rd Mendon Company on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Peter's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year.

SECOND LIEUTENANT AMOS ELLIS of Bellingham was engaged May 27, 1775 to serve in that rank in Captain Samuel Cobb's Company, Col-

onel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he continued in that organization through the year. September 27, 1777 he was commissioned Captain of the 4th Bellingham Company, in Colonel Benjamin Hawes 4th Suffolk County Regiment of Militia, and served until October 21st of that year in a Rhode Island campaign. From July 26th to August 23, 1778 he again saw service in the same rank in that regiment in Rhode Island. He served as Captain in the same Regiment under Major Seth Bullard from July 27th to August 7, 1780, also at Rhode Island with Captain Samuel Fisher. According to a return made by Captain Sabin Mann, he commanded a body of officers and men detached from Companies in Colonel Seth Bullard's Regiment, February 21, 1781. From March 2nd to 17th, 1781, he was Captain in Colonel Isaac Dean's Regiment, sixteen days at Rhode Island. Captain Amos Ellis died in Bellingham, May 30, 1817.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ENOCH HEWINS of Stoughton was born about 1741. He enlisted April 4, 1758 in Captain Samuel Billings's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment, having previously seen service in Colonel Miller's Regiment. His place of residence was given as Stoughton, and he served until June 24th. From May 24, 1761 to January 6, 1762 he was a corporal in Captain Timothy Hamant's Company. April 27, 1775 he enlisted as Second Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Payson's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. March 4, 1776 he marched on an alarm as a private in Captain Edward Bridge Savell's Stoughton Company, in Colonel Benjamin Gill's 3rd Suffolk County Regiment. His name also appeared on a company return of Captain Lewis Whiting's Company, Colonel Ephraim Wheelock's 4th Suffolk County Regiment, said return dated Ticonderoga, October 27, 1776. His age at this time is given as 33 years and residence Stoughton.

SECOND LIEUTENANT EZEKIEL PLYMPTON of Medfield was the son of Simon and Ruth (Morse) Plympton. He was a wheelwright by trade. He was born in the above town, June 7, 1748. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as private in Captain Sabin Mann's

Company, Colonel John Greaton's Regiment. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Seth Bullard's Company, and served through the year. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Oliver Pond's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. September 27, 1777 he was commissioned Captain of the 1st Medfield Company in Colonel Benjamin Hawes's 4th Suffolk County Regiment, and he served until October 28th on a secret expedition to Rhode Island. November 3, 1777 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Eleazer Brooks's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment, and he served until December 12th, when he was succeeded in command of the company by Captain Moses Adams. He died January 2, 1817.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JEDEDIAH SOUTHWORTH of Stoughton served first as a private in Captain William Briggs's Company of Minute Men on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant under the same Captain in Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. April 1, 1776 his name appears in a list of commissioned officers in Colonel Lemuel Robinson's January-April 1776 Regiment, as Captain. No further record of service has been found.

SECOND LIEUTENANT PETER TAFT of Uxbridge, was a Sergeant in Captain Joseph Chapin's Company of Minute Men on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. April 26, 1775 he was engaged as Second Lieutenant in Captain Edward Seagrave's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and served through the year. During 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Moses Knap's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army.

SECOND LIEUTENANT ROBERT TAFT of Upton was engaged April 26, 1775 to hold that rank in Captain David Batcheldor's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. He was probably the man referred to in one or more records of service as Lieutenant,

later in the war, but the fact that the town from which these men came was not mentioned, and the number of such men serving, makes it impossible to distinguish them.

SECOND LIEUTENANT GEORGE WHIPPLE of Mendon was engaged April 26, 1775 as Lieutenant in Captain Samuel Warren's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment, and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Andrew Peter's Company, Colonel Joseph Read's 13th Regiment, Continental Army. No further record of service has been found.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

THERE is sound reason to believe that the genius of man has not progressed in the last 1000 years.

Giving due recognition to the electric telegraph, telephone, motor, light and radiograph; the steam propelled locomotive, ship and factory wheel; the aeroplane, sea-plane and submarine; and the boasted discoveries in medicine and surgery—it still remains true that the three greatest poets of all time lived their immortal lives 300, 600 and 2600 years ago. There is not a poet alive today, nor one who died yesterday, whose work we expect to live and become known with Homer the Grecian, who lived 700 years B. C., Dante the Italian who died in 1321, or Shakespeare the Englishman who died in 1616. In sculpture it is the work of the Greeks: Phidias, Alcamenes, Scopas, and Praxiteles, whose representations of the human form are still the tantilization of the world. In architecture, students of the subject declare there has been no new idea for centuries—everything is an adaptation or an imitation of the creative works of earlier races. The Cathedral of St. Sophia at Constantinople built before 600 A. D., St. Peter's at Rome built in 1400 and 1500 A. D., and the Temple of Karnak in Egypt begun about 2700 B. C., are still considered the greatest buildings erected by man. In painting the greatest masters are among the ancients—Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rembrandt and others.

Mechanical invention and discovery are the great achievements of our age, but to say that they indicate progress in the creative genius of mankind, is a claim open to serious doubt.

THAT Christian ideals are advancing, and have advanced marvelously in the past 100 and 200 years, is a fact, however, which we do not believe admits of serious dispute. That men are more charitable, more tolerant, more honest, more virtuous and endeavor to live up to higher ethical standards than they did one generation, two generations or ten generations ago, appears to us to be true.

Therefore it is with particular pleasure that we print in another column, the article by Raymond B. Fosdick, on "The Good Old Days."

Here in America, and particularly here in New England, there is continual criticism of business methods and political chicanery, of the insincerity and affectation of society; and lament about the deterioration of the times.

But a peek or two into the past, ought to convince the most cynical and pessimistic that if things *are* bad today, they were worse in the past; that we have really progressed; and that the criticism of today is merely the working of the yeast which is going to make tomorrow better still than today. Any minister, any priest, any prude, or sentimentalist who cannot see it, lacks capacity to interpret the meaning of history, and the imagination to see present day criticism in relation to the future.

This article of Mr. Fosdick's shows clearly that with all our graft and corruption in politics and business, and the strident publicity concerning these evils, there is improvement—vast improvement—over what went before.

A STRIKING evidence of the greater toleration of this age is found in the enhanced respect for human life today. At the beginning of this century the English law recognized over 200 capital offences. Not only was a man immediately hung if he committed arson, burglary, felonious assault, rape, or treason, but if he wrote a threatening letter to extort money, if he shot at rabbits, if he committed a theft amounting to five shillings, if he appeared in disguise on a public street,—if he committed any of these or 200 odd other misdemeanors or crimes he was immediately hung. The "rights of man" have been enormously increased in the last century.

WE have had many orders for back copies of this magazine for April, 1915, in which there appeared an article by Rev. Thomas Franklin Waters, on "Church Troubles in Ye Olden Time," which was a startling revelation to those who complain that reverence and godliness have declined in this age. We would not have dared to print this article from the hand of a less known author, but Mr. Waters is one of the most careful and competent historical investigators in Massachusetts, and a pastor who has given many years of service to the church. Yet he tells us of a drunken parson performing service, of boys using their fists on each other, spitting in each other faces, breaking the glass windows, and other coarse disorderly conduct in church never heard of or dreamed of in our day. Church statistics tell us, also, that not one in fourteen of the population attended church 100 years ago; one in four is today a church communicant.

UP to the year 1914 it was quite common place to hear that courage and valor were declining. Wars of the future would not call for physical courage. The heroic age was past. England was a decayed nation, France a sterile, one, etc. Whatever conclusion one may come to about the present greatest conflict at arms known in history; however discouraged one may be as to its final influence on mankind and civilization—no one today will say that men have lost their courage to face death and die.

WE hear much in the "society" gossip about wine drinking and dissipation of men and women; someone says "I don't know what the world is coming to," and we conclude it must be going bad; statistics gathered on the subject prove that the consumption of breweries and distilleries' goods is on the increase. All these things and much more besides are dinned into our intelligence by the headlines in the newspapers. No one takes the trouble to see how much the increased consumption is due to the habits of our large immigrant population, and their families.

It is only by the testimony of our older men that we are occasionally reassured. In a speech on the occasion of his birthday recently Chauncey M. Depew, speaking of his youth, said:

"At that time temperance was unknown. It was an insult to refuse to drink. Most of the public men whom I met in the legislature died from alcoholism."

LOOKING back a little further if we would see the drunkenness and depravity existing in some parts of America at the time Charles Dickens visited this country, let one reread "Martin Chuzzlewit."

If we would look backward further still we can go to sturdy old Dr. Samuel Johnson's time and find that he remembered "all the decent people of Lichfield [where he was born in 1709] getting drunk every night" and during his time "the most honoured and feared of English Prime Ministers could appear intoxicated in the House of Commons itself."

Ex-President Roosevelt in his recent book, "A Book-lover's Holidays in the Open," from the press last month, points out other books one can read to this same purpose. He says:

"If any executive grows exasperated over the shortcomings of the legislative body with which he deals, let him study Macauley's account of the way William was treated by his parliaments as soon as the latter found that, thanks to his efforts, they were no longer in immediate danger from foreign foes; it is illuminating. . . . .

"If the attitude of this nation towards foreign affairs and military preparedness at the present day seems disheartening, a study of the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century will at any rate give us whatever comfort we can extract from the fact that our great-grandfathers were no less foolish than we are.

"Nor need any one confine himself solely to the affairs of the United States. If he becomes tempted to idealize the past, if sentimentalists seek to persuade him that the 'ages of faith,' the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for instance, were better than our own, let him read any trustworthy books on the subject—Lear's 'History of the Inquisition,' for instance, or Coul-

ton's abridgement of Salimbere's memoirs. He will be undeceived and will be devoutly thankful that his lot has been cast in the present age, in spite of all its faults."

ONE of the largest factors in influencing us to this habitual state of self-depreciation is undoubtedly the resumes of crime and misdemeanor garnered in the four quarters of the globe each and every 24 hours by the electric telegraph, and laid before us every morning by the diligent newspaper press. It takes a strong mind to repress the effect of this—and to realize that the proportion of ill-conduct is really very small, after all. We all have a vague feeling that New York is a very bad place. Every morning we read in the Gotham newspapers of some highway robbery and murder. We rarely stop to think that if the big city with its 5,000,000 souls, suffers two murders on her highways every day, 365 days in the year, it is no more *in proportion* than if a town of 3500 inhabitants had a similar occurrence once in two years.

Dr. Minot J. Savage put the philosophy of this into a pregnant sentence a few years ago when he said:

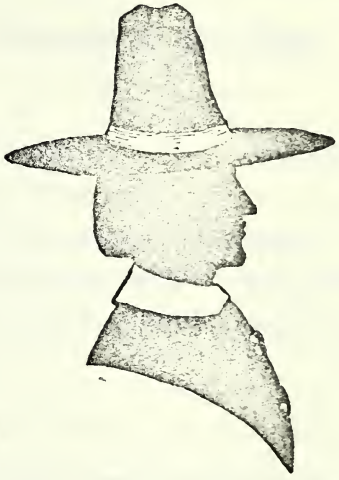
"The trouble and sorrow of this world is tremendously over-estimated, and the responsibility for this modern pessimism is largely due to the newspapers. The reason is that good conduct is not news."

THE GREAT WORK THAT THIS MAGAZINE IS DOING IS: THE PUBLICATION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENTS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, BY DR. FRANK A. GARDNER.

TWENTY-THREE OF THE REGIMENTS HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED SO FAR; AS FOLLOWS:

Colonel John Glover's Marblehead Regiment
Colonel Wm. Prescott's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Nathan Doolittle's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Timothy Danielson's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel John Fellows's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Ebenezer Bridges's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Timothy Walker's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Theophilus Cotton's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel James Frye's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Thomas Gardner's Minute Men's Regiment
Colonel Samuel Gerrish's Regiment
Colonel Ebenezer Learned's Regiment
Colonel Willian Heath's and Colonel John Greaton's Regt.
Colonel John Thomas's and Colonel John Bailey's Regiment
Colonel John Paterson's Regiment
Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent's Regiment
Colonel John Mansfield's Regiment
Colonel Asa Whitcomb's Regiment
Colonel John Nixon's Regiment
General Artemas and Colonel Jonathan Ward's Regiments
Colonel Moses Little's Regiment
Colonel Joseph Read's Regiment

THE MASSACHVSETTS MAGAZINE



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The Massachusetts Magazine

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THE BOSTON ATHENAEUM LIBRARY

By Agnes Edwards

The Boston Athenæum is one of the most beautiful, most dignified and most scholarly institutions in Boston. Its history is intimately connected with the literary life of New England for over one hundred years, and its associations are of the noblest.

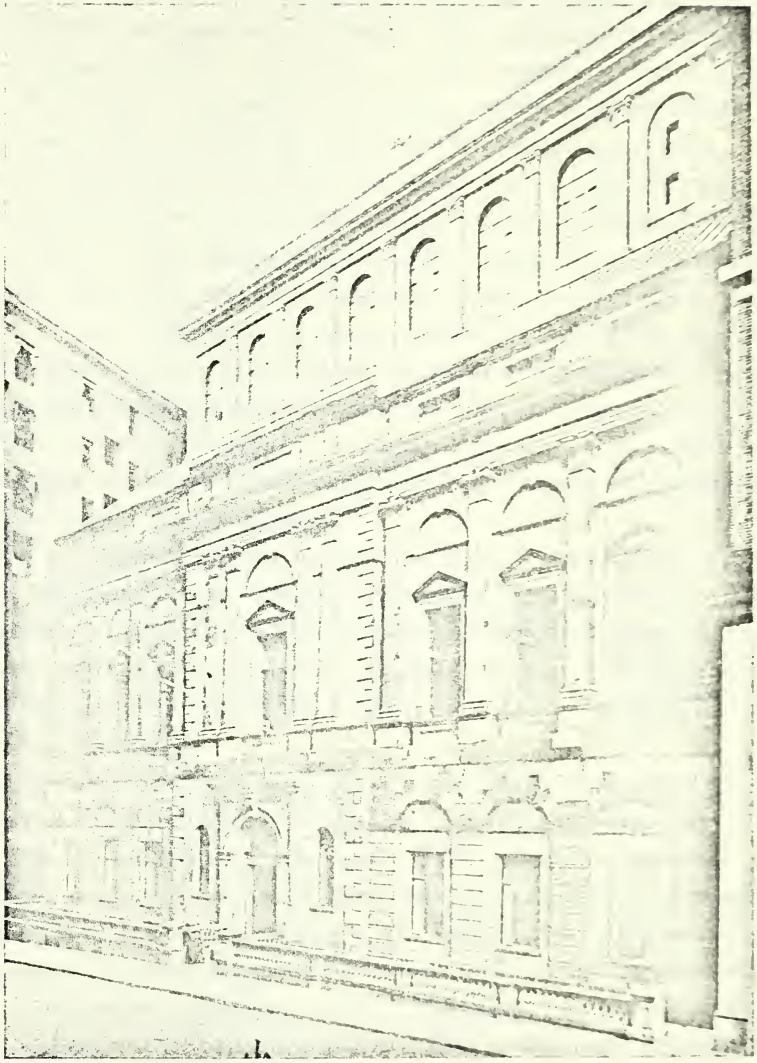
The stranger visiting the city, and permitted a glimpse into this exclusive spot, receives an impression of order, of well bred seriousness and high minded erudition: and, if he is at all conversant with Boston's ideals and achievements, he also feels something akin to a thrill as he stands upon this tradition weighted ground. The building itself is handsome, both in exterior and interior: the facade is classic: the vestibule spacious. Within, the reading rooms—the one on the fifth floor is ninety feet long and thirty-five feet wide, well lighted from both North and South— the rest rooms, the catalogue rooms, the art rooms, and the smaller conveniences, such as a dark room for photographers, a lunch room, a tea room, where you may get a pleasant and social cup for three cents—combine comfort and architectural harmony. In the rear stretches the Granary Burial Ground, where lie the generation painted by Copley: to the East shimmers the Bay: to the

West rises Blue Hill, and in front, passing the very door, runs Beacon Street, the most characteristic of Boston thoroughfares.

But it is not the building itself—impressive though it is: it is not even the remarkably fine collection of books, magazines, pamphlets, documents and works of art which makes the Athenaeum unique. What it has stood for in the past, and what it stands for today—while it includes all material successes, includes something more subtle and more vital. The Athenæum has been the center of Boston's intellectual existence for over a century, and maintains today, as it did a hundred years ago, its prestige and distinction.

The building on Beacon Street—mellowed as it is by age and usage—is not the original home of the library by any means. When, in 1805, the Anthology Society of Boston voted "that a library of periodical publications be instituted for the use of the Society," and when, by January, 1807 the new enterprise, with a hundred and sixty subscribers and several hundred books, announced its organization, the rooms were in Joy's Buildings on Congress Street. A month later, when the library was incorporated as the Boston Athenæum, modeled upon lines similar to the Athenæum and Lyceum of Liverpool, a hundred and fifty shares of stock at $300 a share were sold, and the rooms were changed to Scollay's Buildings, Tremont Street. In 1822 felicitous circumstances made it possible for its removal into the stately mansion house of James Perkins on Pearl Street. In 1847 the corner stone for the present building was laid: and two years ago, this was reconstructed and enlarged to its present gracious and commodious estate.

Meanwhile the famous heritage of distinguished support has been most preciously preserved. From its very beginning it has engaged the interest of men of repute. Its founders, its trustees, its benefactors and its proprietors include names honorable forever in the annals of America. Theophilus Parsons, John Lowell and Josiah Quincy were the first presidents: Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, Rufus Choate, William Ellery Channing and James Freeman Clarke were all frequenters of its quiet corridors. Emerson, Holmes and Hawthorne's names are still down on the record books:



HOME OF THE BOSTON ATHENÆUM
10 BEACON STREET

and from the walls smiles a portrait of Hannah Adams, the first woman admitted to the privileges of the place. But although mementoes of the early days are cherished reverently, yet the institution has endured, not because of its past, but because of its wise policy of progression. It has always endeavored to serve the needs of the present generation. Accordingly, when there was no Art Museum in the city, it provided one. When the Museum of Fine Arts was established, the Athenæum resigned that branch of its activities. When special libraries of law, or medicine or theology have languished, the Athenæum has absorbed them. As they have been reestablished, it has contributed to them, instead of competing against them.

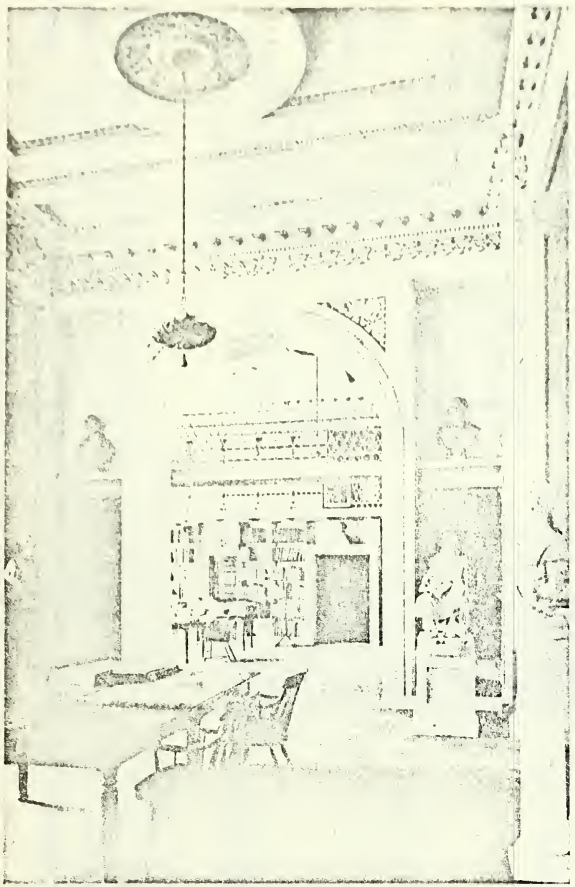
Its original object—of collecting pamphlets and magazines and newspapers not for circulation but for reference only, has been permitted to expand freely. Now proprietors—of whom there are about eight hundred who are active, and their guests may draw out books as in a public library, and on as many varied subjects.

There are several special collections here which deserve attention—the most significant and valuable being the Washingtoniana. However, we will reserve that for the end, and briefly mention, first, some of the others.

Of the works of the poet Byron, bought from Mr. J. W. Bouton in 1885, there are almost three hundred volumes and forty-six pamphlets, many of them first editions.

Confederate Literature is represented by books and newspapers, published in the Southern States during the Civil War, to illustrate the social and economic conditions of the time. This collection, including medical and military works, school books, time tables, novels with wall paper covers and good files of periodicals, is one of the largest of its kind in the world.

Complete files (for the years indicated) of the following Southern newspapers, are now in possession of the Athenæum. It is one of the most extensive collections in existence of Civil War newspapers representing the Confederacy. It is equalled or excelled only by those of the Library of Congress, the Yale University Library, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, and the New York Public Library



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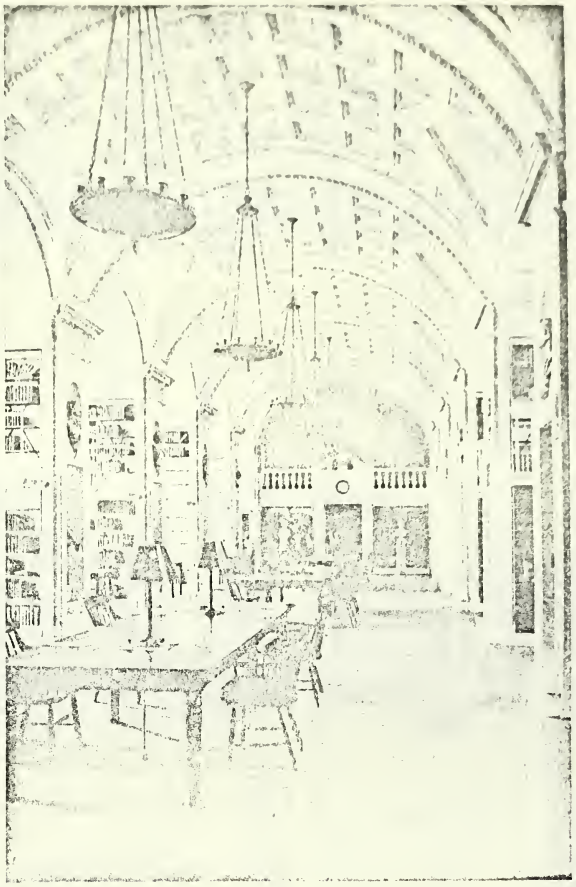


READING ROOM, FIFTH FLOOR

The collection is being enlarged by additional purchases every year. (The small dash between the figures indicate that the files are complete for the intervening years. Thus. the files of the *Baltimore Patriot* are complete for a period of forty-six years: 1814–1860.)

Atchison, (Kansas)	*Kansas Zeitung*, 1857–8
Atlanta, (Ga.)	*Commonwealth*, 1861–62
	Southern Confederacy 1861–65
	Daily Intelligencer, 1861, '62, '64, '65
	Weekly Intelligencer 1861 Feb.–Oct.
Augusta, (Ga.)	*Daily Constitutionalist*, 1864
	Daily Register, 1864
	Southern Field and Fireside, 1864
	Chronicle and Sentinel, 1862, 1863. 1864–5
Baltimore, (Md.)	*Gazette and Maryland*, news sheet, 1861–65
	Niles Weekly Register, 1811–48
	North American, 1808, 1809
	Patriot, 1814–60
	Weekly Patriot, 1855–56, 1858
	Advertiser, 1806–8
	American, 1864–76
	Am. Farmer, 1819–27
	Daily Exchange, 1858–60, 1861
	Federal Intelligencer, 1795
	Federal Republican, 1809, 1810 1817, 1818
Charleston, (S.C.)	*Carolina Gazette*, 1829, 1837–40
	Courier, 1803–8, 1832–39, 1843–44, 1854, 1855, 1861–64, Jan. 4 to Feb. 9, 1865, and Apr. 15, to end of year, 1866–71
	Mercury, 1857–65
	News, 1869
	Republican, Aug.-Dec., 1869
	Mercury, tri-weekly, 1861, '62, '64
Chattanooga,(Tenn)	*Daily Rebel*, 1864
Columbia, (S. C.)	*Daily South Carolinian*, 1861–1864
	Daily Southern Guardian, 1864
Columbus, (Ga.)	*Daily Sun*. 1864, '65
	Times, 1864, 1865
Florida,	*Misc. papers* 1865–69
Galveston, (Tex.)	*Weekly News*. 1863
Georgetown, (D. C.)	*Washington Federalist*, 1809
Goldsboro, (N. C.)	*Daily State Journal*, 1864
Greensborough, N. C.)	*Patriot*. 1864
Houston, (Tex.)	*Tri-weekly News*. 1863
Knoxville, (Tenn.)	*Army Mail Bag*. 1864
	Daily Bulletin, 1864
Lexington, (Ky.)	*Kentucky Statesman* 1869
Louisville, (Ky.)	*Journal*, 1863–75
	Courier-Journal. 1863–75
Lynchburg, (Va.)	*Republican*. 1869
	Virginian. 1864
Macon, (Ga.)	*Daily Confederate*, 1864
	Southern Confederacy, 1864. 1865
	Daily Telegraph and Confederate, 1865
	Tri-weekly Telegraph, 1864
Memphis, (Tenn.)	*Daily Post*. 1866–69
	Daily Appeal, 1863–64
	Daily Morning Bulletin. 1861
Mobile, (Ala.)	*Evening News*, 1863. 1864
	Evening Telegraph, 1864
	Mobile Daily Tribune, 1863—'65
	Mobile Army Argus and Crisis. 1864–65
	Mobile Daily News. 1865
	Mobile Advertiser and Register. 1863–65
	Register. 1868–75
Montgomery, (Ala.)	*Daily Advertiser*, 1863–1865
	Montgomery Daily Mail, 1864, 1865
Nashville, (Tenn.)	*Patriot*, 1861
Nashville, (Tenn.)	*Despatch*, 1864–65
	Union, 1863–66
New Berne, (N. C.)	*North Carolina Times*, 1864

New Echota, (Ga.)	*Cherokee Phoenix*, 1828-32
New Orleans, (La.)	*Commercial Bulletin*, 1869
	Delta, 1861, 1862, 1865
	Picayune, 1862, 1869
	Republican, 1869
	Times, 1869
	Newspapers, 1860–65
	Bee, 1862
	L'abeille, 1862
	Daily Crescent, 1861
Norfolk, (Va.)	*Journal*, 1869
	New Regime, 1864
Petersburg, (Va.)	*Christian Sun*, 1864
	Daily Register, 1864
	Express, 1863, 1864, 1869
	Index, 1869
Raleigh, (N. C.)	*Daily Confederate*, 1864
	Daily Conservative, 1864
	Weekly Conservative, 1864
	North Carolina Standard, 1864
	Daily Progress, 1864
Richmond, (Va.)	*Despatch*, 1861, 1863–65' 1869
	Confederate States Medical and Surgical journal, 1864
	Enquirer, 1817–18, 1828–29, 1861–64, 1868–71, 1873–76
	Examiner, 1861–65
	Magnolia Weekly, 1862–65
	Republic, 1865
	Southern Illustrated News 1863–4
	Southern Punch, 1863–4
	State Journal, 1869
	Whig, 1861–65, 1869
	Central Presbyterian, 1864
Savannah, (Ga.)	*Savannah Daily Morning News*, Jan. 5, 1861–Apr. 27, 1864
	Advertiser, 1869, 1874–75
	Republican, 1861–73.
Selma, (Miss.)	*Evening Dispatch*, 1864
	Selma Morning Mississippian 1864
	Selma Evening Reporter, 1864
St. Louis, (Mo.)	*Daily Countersign*, 1864
	Globe (See Missouri Democrat)
	Missouri Democrat, 1863–76
	Missouri Republican, 1861–64
Tallahassee, (Fla.)	*Floridian and Journal*, 1864
Texas	*Miscellaneous copies*, 1865–69
Vicksburgh, (Miss.)	*Citizen*, 1863
Washington (D. C.)	*National Era*, 1848–58
	National Gov. Journal, 1823–4
	National Intelligencer, 1801–68
	National Republican, 1862, 1863, 1866, 1868
	Orphans Advocate, 1866
	Spirit of Seventy Six, 1810–11
	Banner of the Constitution, 1829–31
	United States Telegraph, 1829
	Chronicle, 1864–76
	Daily Globe, 1840, 1835–45
	Extra Globe, 1841
	Gazette, 1822
Wilmington, (Del.)	*Daily Journal*, 1862, 1864

There is an unusually complete collection of first editions of Emerson, Hawthorne, Holmes, Longfellow, Lowell, Thoreau, and Whittier.

Nearly complete files of every Boston Newspaper published from 1690 to 1790 are preserved in remarkably good condition.

The library given to King's Chapel in Boston by William III, in 1698 has been in the custody of the Athenæum since 1823. It is the oldest collection of books in New England, and illustrates the literary taste of a scholarly man during the first century of life in the English Colonies.

The Athenæum possesses an excellent set of early American documents, based in part upon the collections of John Adams and John Quincy Adams. The first fourteen Congresses are especially well represented through an exchange with the War Department and the Library of Congress.

The Collection of International Law material—including state papers of the chief countries of the world, with series of treaties and many monographs and memoirs relating to subjects in International Law is supposed to be the best in America outside of Washington.

Another extremely interesting bookcase is filled with Gypsy Literature. It is chiefly composed of books from the estate of Mr. Francis Hindes Groome of Edinburgh, one of the foremost authorities in the world in this subject. It comprises over a hundred volumes, and contains also tracts and magazine articles: Mr. Groome's own books with marginal additions: over thirty volumes of manuscript notes, lectures, etc.: and his correspondence with M. Paul Bataillard, the eminent French student of the Gypsies, covering the years 1872–1880.

Of the manuscripts, there are some of especial antiquarian value. These include:

The Ezekiel Price papers, with court, notarial and shipping records.

Aspinwall's Notarial Records from 1644 to 1657.

The Boston Record Commissioner's Reports and a Record of the County Court at Boston from 1671 to 1680.

Le Forestier's Relation.

Topliff's Travels.

The large collection of broadsides includes many unique or rare examples of the 17th or 18th centuries, with perhaps the best series now existing of Fast and Thanksgiving Day Proclamations, issued by the Governors of Massachusetts.

A practically complete set of the Roxburghe Club publications treating a wide variety of subjects, including art, history, literature, biography and archaeology.

The Dreyfus Affair promised to throw such light on military, legal and

social conditions in France, that virtually every volume relating to it published in France, and many others published in other countries, was acquired.

There are over a thousand volumes illustrating the history of the Netherlands and Dutch Colonization. Also five contemporary pamphlets by and relating to Sir George Downing, a graduate in the first class at Harvard and a representative of Cromwell and Charles I in the Netherlands.

And now we come to the Washingtoniana—the most complete and valuable one of its kind in existence, and destined to become more and more so as the years go by.

In a bookcase in the Trustees room—a bookcase which is an almost exact reproduction of the one at Mount Vernon, stand—bound in the original covers in which he left them, most of the books which belonged to George Washington. There they stand—384 volumes which were handled often by the Father of his Country, and others from the library of Bushrod Washington. Many of the volumes bear the armorial book plate of the President and his autograph: and they relate chiefly to agriculture and military science. Besides these volumes there are books and pamphlets and monographs relating to him, so that the student may find here everything he needs for an exhaustive study of the man.

The complete inventory of this library is published in book form, so it is possible for students to ascertain precisely what they can find here. While it is not possible to reprint such a book in its entirety in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, nevertheless, a brief outline of the subjects covered and some mention of the most valuable volumes may be of interest to even the casual reader, as showing something of the taste and reading habits of the man whose all around development, as well as his special genius has made him a conspicuous figure in the history of the world.

In the field of literature we find poems, essays and letters and biography of a high order—although of limited number. There are a few of the foreign classics—such as the Italian Tragedy of Alfieri and Germanicus, (in French). The poetry is chiefly patriotic—the few novels are from standard writers. The essays are mostly on political or economic subjects.

There is a very fair showing of periodicals—nearly all of them being of a serious nature, such as the American Museum, Christian Magazine, The Monthly and Critical Reviews (London), the Annual Register, which was a repository for the history, politics and literature of its time.

The books of reference are of an entirely conventional order, including such works as Johnson's Dictionary.

The dozen and a half religious works are solid enough: Barclay's Apology, Berington's Mosaical Creation, Gilbert's Exposition of the Thirty nine Articles, etc.

The books on Geography and Travel are rather more unusual: some are in French, as Warville's Voyage, and others seem tremendously old fashioned in their length—as Defoe's four volumes of a Tour through Great Britain.

When we come to the Historical books, we find a decided tendency toward books on America and sections of America. Of course, we must remember that Washington was the recipient of many gifts, which would account for this preponderance of local histories. However, there are enough of broader works, to indicate that the President was not narrow in his historical reading.

When we come to the branches of Politics, Political Economy, etc., we find a more distinctive selection. Pryor's Documents, Coxe's View, Patricius the Utilitist, various works in French on the History of Administration of Finances, Hazard's Collection of State Papers, etc., are still of intrinsic interest as well as of value because of their association.

There are a few volumes on Legislation, such as the Parliamentary Register, and Debates, Congressional Register, and Sundry Pamphlets containing messages from the President to Congress.

With the examination of Military works we find ourselves in what is, perhaps the most interesting of all. These books bear a look of more constant usage than any other in the library: Major William Young's Manoeuvres is worn at the corners as though it had been often carried in a vest pocket. Thomas Hanson's extraordinary work on Prussian Evolutions, is also well thumbed. Washington was evidently not above studying the

German methods of warfare—point of singular interest in the light of present day developments. LeBlond's Engineer, Count Saxe's Plan for New Modelling the French Army, Steuben's Regulations, and Otway's Art of War are others of the scant two dozen books on this subject.

After the Military collection, the Agricultural is perhaps as indicative of Washington's personality as any other books in the library. This was the pastime he most loved, and it is pleasant to survey the volumes which were his companions in his less strenuous hours. Here we find four volumes of Anderson on Agriculture: Boswell on Meadows, Dundonald's Connection between Agriculture and Chemistry. The Farmer's Complete Guide, the Reports of the National Agricultural Society of Great Britain, the Gentleman Farmer, and couple of dozen more.

These, and a dozen or so volumes of miscellaneous material and 750 pamphlets make up the three fourths of the entire library which Washington owned, and which the Athenæum now possesses. The other fourth is scattered. Perhaps time will gradually bring them also to this happy spot. There certainly could be no safer and more congenial resting place for the library which once was assembled in Mount Vernon.

One cannot leave the Athenæum without a more detailed mention of its art department. It is not only unusually complete in its collection of catalogued large carbon photographs—over ten thousand of them, its books on art, and its pieces of original sculpture and painting—but because of its exhibitions, which are carried out systematically and with unusual richness. Besides the exhibition of etchings, portraits, old engravings and photographs, the Athenæum has worked out several distinctive ideas: For instance, the war posters which it has assembled during the last two years have been of tremendous enlightenment. During 1916 there has been a carefully worked out exhibition of the photographs of fountains, parks, squares and public monuments in European cities—working in very neatly with the growing importance of city planning in our municipal life.

It is not possible for a stranger to enter fully into an appreciation of the work and the atmosphere of the Athenæum. The shares which are

held by the proprietors today, were held by Webster, Prescott and Holmes and men of their circle and generation. And the traditions established by the co-operation of such men are understood and reverenced by those who have followed them. Occasionally there has been a resentment against the exclusiveness of this institution—for one must either be a proprietor or obtain the reading privilege from a proprietor before the sacred precincts are open. But, after all, there is no reason why—even in America, everything should be free to everyone.

The Athenæum is generous, even in its exclusiveness. It is scholarly, even in its elegance; and in spite of its pride in the past, its spirit of progression keeps it abreast of the most advanced institutions of the present.

Mr. Charles Knowles Bolton, who has been Librarian of the Athenæum for 18 years, has made himself much loved by Bostonians because of his many activities outside the Library as well as within. As Treasurer of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, as President of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, as Senior Warden of Christ Church, Mr. Bolton has distinguished himself for constructive services. At Simmons College he has for several years instructed certain of the classes for training as librarians. He was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1867; married Ethel Stanwood of Brookline, in 1897; is a graduate of Harvard, class of 1890; is a writer of several books of history and fiction, and many articles on Library administration and other subjects. And he is above all, a genial and cultivated host to the many scholars and literary folk who come to the Athenæum for pleasure and information.

That he has been quite busy with his pen during these years of library work is evident by the following list of his published works: "Saskia, the Wife of Rembrant," published in 1893; "On the Wooing of Martha Pitkin," 1894; "The Love Story of Ursula Wolcott," 1895; "Brookline: History of a Favored Town," 1897; "The Private Soldier Under Washington," 1902; "Scotch-Irish Pioneers," 1910; "The Elizabeth Whitman Mystery," 1912; "American Library History," 1911; "Christ Church, 1723," 1913.

CHURCH DISCIPLINE IN YE OLDEN TIME

By Ralph Mortimer Jones.

I was much interested in the article recently published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, by Rev. T. F. Waters, on "Church Troubles in Ye Olden Time," and think that you may like to publish the following article, as supplementary to his dealing with church discipline, in the early colonial days.

The most thorough way of treating this subject would be to cover the history of discipline in all the churches of New England An examination of the available records, would show that this is impossible in any complete way. Inasmuch as the rise and fall of discipline in all the New England churches is practically coincident, and the causes and occasion for discipline are similar, I think these excerpts from the records of the Chester Baptist Church, at Vermont, will be found typical of the Church discipline elsewhere. I believe these records present as elaborate and complete a story, as that of any church in this state, or perhaps Massachusetts.

Discipline Begins.

The history of the Chester Church is recorded from August 10, 1789, but the first authentic case of discipline is found in an entry made on March 17, 1792, in which we are informed that "Brothers G—— and L——, of our sister church at Rockingham, have conducted themselves in an unbecoming manner, which if true, is to their disgrace and to the wounding of the cause of truth." Brother G——, we are told, later "gave satisfaction to the church in public by appearing in the spirit of humility."

I quote verbatim the following entry, made April 2, 1796, because it illustrates the method of discipline used in such cases, and also the formula

of words employed, with only occasional variations, to bring charge against an unruly member:

April 2, 1796, received the following complaint against Sister Esther C——: Whereas Sister C—— has appeared to imbrace the Universal sentiment, and in her conversation countenances the same, also bringing unreasonable charges against the Baptist Churches, after the first and second steps with according to the Gospel, without gaining satistaction, I tell it to the Church.

WILLIAM LARRABEE.

Chose Brethren Edmund Bryant, Samuel Manning and Beman Boynton to go and labor with Sister —— and report at our next meeting.

The next meeting is entered as held April 30:

Heard the report of the committee that went to see Sister ——. Voted to send her a letter and request her to attend our next meeting.

The next entry that has to do with Sister C—— is made for June 16, 1796:

Took into consideration the situation of Sister C——, and unamimously voted to send her a letter of exclusion, but not till after our next conference, that she may have still further oppurtunity of considering the solemnity of being cut off from communion with the church. . . . . Voted that Brother Biglow inform Sister C—— of the church's proceedings.

No further mention is made of Sister C—— in the records, so we may presume that she continued obdurate, and that the sentence of the church was carried out. My examination of the records has convinced me that this case may be regarded as fairly typical of that time.

Method of Discipline.

The method of discipline in all such cases seems to have followed pretty accurately the rules laid down in Matthew 18:15-17. One member, having occasion to complain against another member in the church, first goes to him in person. If his expostulation has no salutory effect he takes with

him two or three others who expostulate together with the delinquent and secure the facts. Failing in this second step, he tells the church, making a definite accusation in writing, of his complaint. The church in turn appoints a committee of one or more to wait on the accused and to report results at the next meeting. If the church deems best, no satisfaction having been obtained, the committee is instructed to make a second or even a third effort to win over the delinquent to a sense of duty and confession. That failing, he is dismissed from membership by a letter of exclusion handed to him personally by some one appointed for that purpose. The culprit was, of course, subject to restoration in the event of ultimate repentence.

There is no better way to make clear the *causes* for discipline, and the temper of the men who exercised it so rigorously in those severe days, than to recite briefly from the records a catalogue of charges made. It may appear to the reader, at first glance, that the cases given here are chosen for the reason of novelty and interest. On the contrary, I present them without conscious selection, almost in the exact order of occurrence, merely leaving out of my catagloue of offenses such as would involve a repetition of some previous charge. Charges were preferred against:

Sister W—— for imbracing the universal doctrine, asserting that she had as much reason to believe that all would be saved as that some would be damned.

Sister Abigail S—— for going into vicious company, and going with them in their amusements, for neglect of the worship of God on the first Lord's Day in April, and going away upon secular pursuits on Sunday.

Brother John R—— for neglect of public worship.

Brother B—— for difficulties between himself and others. Excluded after "painful labor."

Sister Lydia H—— for going with young people in dancing and other carnal amusements, and for wishing to be dismissed from the church that she might go on in carnal mirth with less remorse.

Brother B—— for saying that the church was in error in respect to the subject and mode of baptism.

Brother John R—— for dancing.

Sister Lucy M—— for neglect of Christian duties.

Brother Benjamin P—— for making two attempts to cast out devils, in which he thinks he was successful.

Brother Asa L—— For having encouraged people to bring instrumental musick into the church worship.

Sister H—— for having joined with people of another denomination calling themselves Methodists.

Brothers R—— and C—— for difficulties subsisting between themselves.

Sister V—— for prevarication.

Brother A—— for imbracing the Restoration doctrine.

Sister D—— for backsliding.

Brother Wm. G—— for intemperance..

Brother John C—— for playing at cards.

Brother Wm. T—— for staying away from church.

Brother and Sister B—— (man and wife) for keeping up a quarrel between themselves.

Sister Jane H—— for indulging herself in the vanities of irreligious young people.

Brother Nathan W—— for suing Brother F—— which is contrary to the Gospel rule.

Brother Nathan W—— (again) for transacting unnecessary worldly business on the Lord's day.

At a single meeting held February 6, 1842, the church excluded thre members for various causes, voted itself dissatisfied with a fourth, and appointed a disciplinary committee to labor with two others. No other business was transacted. The meeting was opened with prayer. This case is by no means unique in its severity.

I do not wish, however, to weary the reader with a too copious recital of specific charges, some of which seem to us both rigorous and absurd. It is plain that they were not so looked upon in that day. Through the interstices one catches a glimpse of the stern people who, one hundred years ago, did the business of the church. One finds them deficient in humor, bigoted, a little disposed to sanctify their personal spites and antipathies by putting them before the church. In such phrases as "carnal mirth," "vanities,"

"a people calling themselves Methodists," we recognize a generation whose modes of thought were as totally different from our own as can be well imagined. Nevertheless we discover also a certain religious hardihood in which we are sadly lacking in these easy-going days, and a grim and steadfast resolution to uphold, at all costs, the honor and authority of the church.

A Notable Case.

In the year 1826 Elder Leland, pastor of the church and a truly great man, was himself subjected to disciplinary action. This was not to be wondered at. The village must have been reasonably full, at this time, of disgruntled people who had been excluded from the church, some of them by the direct complaint of Elder Leland himself; and he, both as a legislator (having risen to the position of lieutenant-governor), and as a prominent Mason, was assuredly not secure from the charge of secular pursuits. Elder Leland was tried on a petition presented by eleven defected members of his own church, and, tho largely exonerated, was severely reprimanded by the investigating committee in that he had "discovered a thirst for the honors, offices and emoluments of this world." A complete and interesting account of this celebrated trial may be found in Mr. Henry Crocker's Life of Leland. I merely present it as a notable case, and as typical of the severity of church discipline in those early days. It is equally characteristic of the period that the eleven members who brought complaint against the Elder were all excluded from his communion, tho they were afterwards restored and exonerated in a very sweet and winsome letter given over Elder Leland's own signature.

It was perhaps due to his own experience that the remaining days of Elder Leland, who was pastor of the Church until his death in August 1832, were almost wholly free from episodes of discipline. I can discover during these seven years only two cases of exclusion. These were notable years, marked by the most prodigious revival that has ever blessed the church. What relation this revival and the absence of discipline may have had to each other I can only conjecture. That revivals almost equally fervid had

broken out previously during periods of severe discipline would seem to show, however, that the two things may readily exist together.

Succeeding Pastorates.

After Elder Leland's death, perhaps owing in no small way to the removal of his strong personality, discipline again takes chief place in the records of the church. During the pastorates of Elders McCollam, Person and Ely, 1837–42, there is to be found scarcely a single church meeting in which some member is not brought to book by the stern mandate of the church. A few cases may be noted. Again I give them with no thought of any conscious selection:

Brother P—— for his unchristian conduct while in Boston.
Sister Eunice C—— for her disorderly walk.
Brother F—— for whipping Brother H——'s child.
Sister B—— for lightness and twice visiting the ball-chamber.
Sister R—— for conjuring.
Sister H—— for believing there is no need of baptism.
Brother —— and wife for complaining of close communion.

During this period one deacon was excluded by a divided vote of the church, on the charge of embezzlement and general dishonesty; still another deacon on a charge of discontent with the procedure of the church; and a serious charge was preferred against Elder Ely himself by two disaffected members of his communion. These too were troublous days, and one can find little diminution in severity over the early days of Elder Leland.

A Stern Pastor.

But discipline in Chester reached its climax a little later during the ten years of Elder Reuben Sawyer. Here was a stern man, and the church was made to bend to his will. Yet is it a singular fact that his parish loved him.... At the outset of this pastorate (the record comes with a certain grim humor to the people of this lenient day) it was complained that "discipline had been neglected," and the church voted unanimoulsy that they

were guilty of the charge preferred. The omission, however, was soon amply repaired. I submit an example from the minutes of this period which is typical of the entire tone and trend of Elder Reuben Sawyer's stern and vigilant pastorate:

Voted, a committee to look after Sister B.
Heard report of committee to visit Brother J. Voted to continue same.
Voted to withdraw hand of fellowship from Sister B.
Voted Deacon H. a committee to investigate the character of Brother K....
Voted that the committee to visit delinquents prosecute their labor with more zeal.

So it goes "ad finitum" through the pastorate of Reuben Sawyer. Most of the disciplinary cases are for neglect of covenant obligations. Charges are not so definitely outlined as in the older days; and a new phrase is introduced into the records which is peculiar, so far as I can discover, to this particular pastorate, namely that "Brother So and so does not *travel* with the church."

We may well imagine that the church breathed a sigh of relief when this stern hand was lifted after nine sombre years, during which time the people had been brought to the very brink of ruin. Something of this feeling is rather whimsically reflected in the church's annual letter to the association. We read: "After our pastor left us the church seemed to feel a strong desire that God would revive us." Which, to say the least, was rather 'into' Elder Reuben Sawyer. Few members had been added during this time.

Elder Sawyer lies buried in the Chester church-yard only a stone's throw from Elder Aaron Leland. The Apostle and The Puritan sleep together.

Discipline Declines.

This pastorate marks the high-tide of discipline in Chester. From this time on it seems to have been almost wholly abandoned. During the succeeding pastorates of Elders Burroughs and Gurr, extending from 1855 to

1867, a period of twelve years, there are in all only four cases of discipline recorded. Three of these were for the "entire neglect of covenant obligations." During the succeeding pastorate of Mr. Hibbard, 1867-75, only one case is set down. It is hard to account for the sudden extinction of discipline in the life of the church. It is like the instant shutting of a door that had been a moment before wide open. The fact remains that church discipline, so far as the Baptists of Chester are concerned, was practically ended when Elder Reuben Sawyer handed in his resignation, November 14, 1853. Perhaps it died in some measure of its own severity. Possibly the members began to realize that if they were to be tried for every breach of faith and conduct there would soon be no people left in the church. At all events discipline died. And there is little chance that it ever again, in the old severity, will come to life again.

Discipline In Other Churches.

That the extinction of Church discipline in Chester is coincident with its extinction all over the State is borne out by a casual examination of the existing records. Out of twenty cases recorded in Mr. Crocker's "History of the Baptists in Vermont" there is not one that occurred subsequent to 1850. It is true that causes not operative in Chester had their part to play in the discipline of other churches. *Masonry*, for example, which had little effect on the Chester church, partly perhaps because Elder Leland was himself a Mason, was a potent source of disaffection and discipline in the churches of the Addison and Lamoille Associations. It is interesting to those Baptists who may be Masons, to read this resolution in the minutes of the Addison Association in 1833:

Resovled, That this Association recommend to the churches composing it to deal with such as practice speculative freemasonry (if there is) as they would with those who practice any other moral evil.

Millerism, which is described as an extreme form of the Advent doctrine, and which had its vogue from 1841 to 1843, was particulaly ruinous in Addi-

son County. From the Addison Church nineteen who advocated this doctrine were excluded at one time, and from the Bristol Church no fewer than twenty-seven at one time. Another question that disturbed the churches, especially of the Lamoille Association, was in reference to the validity of immersion when administered by a pedobaptist; and in 1820 Elder Tuttle and forty-six other members, including the Clerk and two Deacons, were excluded from the Fairfax Church in one day. Earlier in the life of that association members were disciplined, and not a few excluded, for uniting with the Washingtonian Temperance Society, not on account of its temperance principles, however, but because it was a secret organization. . . . These, however, are only special causes. In general, it may be asserted with some confidence that the ordinary causes for discipline were about the same in all the Baptist churches in the State as those already noted in the history of the church in Chester, that its decline began somewhat earlier in most of them, and that its extinction occurred at substantially the same time. Subsequent cases are merely episodes.

Causes For The Decline.

Although it is difficult to account for the abrupt end of discipline in these churches, it is not so difficult to assign certain causes for its decline and ultimate extinction. Among these the following contributing causes may be briefly noted: (1) That the looseness of the Baptist organization, in which one man is as good as any other man, made discipline much harder to administer in Baptist than most other churches. (2) That the old disciplinary system gave too wide a scope for individual spite and rancour. (3) That discipline in the great majority of cases, was ineffective in its operation on the offender. (4) That our conceptions of social liberty have broadened. (5) That doctrines are less accurately defined than they once were, and that our interdenominational sympathies have immeasurably widened. (6) That the life of our church-members, on the whole, and considered in the light of new conceptions, has become more exemplary. (7) That the authority of Scripture, owing to a general neglect of Bible-study, is less seriously rec-

ognized than it used to be...(8)This last reason must be considered a little more at length: It is the nature of religion that it deals as much with the inner life as with the outward conduct. But it is the infirmity of any disciplinary system that it must concern itself almost wholly with *conduct*. We may discipline a man for intemperance, neglect of worship and expressed heresy, when it is impossible to touch him if his reproach shall be the subtler sin of a covetous or a malicious spirit. And yet it has to be admitted that our covenant obligations forbid the one no more than the other, and that these spiritual heresies are as real and vicious as any of the rest. Our forefathers tried conscientiously to take all these things into account, not merely an overt act but a state of mind, with the result that the church was transformed into a kind of Inquisition that kept its eye at every key-hole. Such a system was intolerable. On the other hand, it has to be confessed that no less rigorous system could be described as quite impartial. The eighth reason in short, for the decline of discipline, is that the church when exercising discipline, has found it difficult to be more than an ecclesiastical police-court.

I present these eight reasons, without further comment, as some of the causes that have contributed to the decline and eventual extinction of discipline in our churches.

Remarks and a Question.

We may well wonder, in the light of this stern record, whether the present dilettante life of our churches does not go far to show that the absence of all discipline is as harmful as its excessive application. We are better in a good many ways than those men of other generations. We have a larger conception of the social life. We greet other churches with less asperity. We walk with wider steps and whistle as we go. But it may be that in the acquirement of these new virtues we have lost a little of that religious hardihood and sober deference of Scriptural authority, that made the severe days of our fathers so notable.

[This is the 23rd of a series of monographs on the Regiments from Massachusetts in the War of the American Revolution, which are appearing in *The Massachusetts Magazine.*]

COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S REGIMENT

COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S 19TH REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, APRIL—JULY, 1775.
COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S 6TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES, JULY—DECEMBER 1775.

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

This regiment was made up of ten companies, the members of which were largely recruited in the following counties: three companies from Middlesex, three from Hampshire, two from Suffolk and one each from Worcester and Norfolk.

The earliest mention of the regiment in the records is the following order, into which the words in parenthesis were written, thereby causing much trouble, as will be shown.

"In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, April 24, 1775
To Captain Daniel Whiting, Gentm.
Sir:

(You are to inlis a Company of Rangers Whereof Jona Brewer, Esqr. is Cornell).

You are hereby empowered immediately to inlist a Company to consist of 56 able-bodied and effective Men, including Sergeants, as Soldiers in the *Massachusetts* Service, for the Preservation of *American* Liberty; and cause them to pass muster as soon as possible.

Jos. Warren, Chairman.
In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, 2 June, 1775."

The following document explains itself:

"In Committee of Safety, May 26, 1775.

To the Honble Provincial Congress at Watertown:

Gentlemen:

The Committee of Safety beg leave to represent to your Honours the conduct of Jonathan Brewer of Waltham. Said Brewer was recommended to this Committee as a suitable person to take Orders to Inlist a Regiment on the present Establishment & accordingly received ten sets of orders from this Committee for that purpose, since then various Complaints have been made to us relative to his Conduct when said Brewer gave out his inlisting Orders to inlist a Regiment of Rangers & gave some of his Capt's written orders accordingly, directly contrary to the orders he received from this Committee & by that means drew off men from Companies & Regiments which has occasioned great uneasiness & frequent Complaints. He has without any authority taken into his Custody & service 2 Horses one belonging to Collo Jones and the other to Collo Taylor & has kept them for several weeks past. He has also given a Lease of part of said Jones's Real Estate, without any other pretence of Right than that of Jones being an enemy to his Country and taken in security therfor his own name.

Altho the Committee were at first induced to give the sd Brewer inlisting orders to raise a Regiment from the Character they had of him (as being Courageous and experienced in War &c) they are now fully convinced from the evidence they have since had of the low Artifices & impositions he has made use of to obtain the small number of men he has returned, his Seizing private property & Converting of it to his own use in a manner that can't by any means be justified & which we feel will be improved by our Enemies to the Dishonor & detriment of this Colony.

Upon the whole we apprehend that he has in many instances not only disqualified himself for serving this Colony as a Collo. of a Regiment but ought immediately to be Dealt with in such a manner as you in your Wisdom shall think proper. Benja. White, Chairman."

N. B. Said Brewer acknowledges That he inserted the above interlineation & attempted to justify himself in so doing, before the Comtee of Safety; said Comtee do not call this a *Forgery* but think it *unjustifiable* be it called by what name it may—He owned that he had alter'd several other of the inlisting Papers & said Comtee ordered him to return em immediately but he has long neglected & still neglects to return em.

Benja'n White, Chairman."

"The Committee appointed to consider the Charges alleged against Mr. Jonathan Brewer by the Honble Committee of Safety have attended that service and beg leave to report to the defense of said Brewer (viz)

That he the said Brewer absolutely denies the Charge of Seducing the men belonging to other Corps to Inlist in his Regiment or any of the Companies thereof. As to the taking of horses of Colle Jones and Taylor he acknowledes his thus doing and thinks himself Justified therein by furthering the Service of the Province in which he was engaged, that he had used them sometime past in that way and on Saturday last had returned Jones's horse. He also owns the sealing part of Said Jones's Estate and taking security which Security he says, was in the keeping of one Capt. Butler that he had proceeded in the affair merely from a principle of saving ye improvement of One Mr. Jennison (whose lands were continuous to that of said Jones) and which were exposed by a neglect of said Jones in keeping up suffixient fences. Said Jennison (as Brewer says) supposing if he would thus dispose of the above leased land to him, he could fence and improve it without molestation. And that the Committee can proceed no further unless they are enabled by hearing the full of Evidences Supposed to Support the Complaint.

By order Richd Perkins, Chairman."

"'Watertown, 7 June, 1775.

To the Honorable Congress

Gentlemen:

I the Subscriber, being informed that some of the Members of the Honorable Committee of Safety have conster's some part of my Conduct as reflecting uppon that Honble Committee, which I be no means intended: and I (wherein) have, either by Word or Action at aney time passed any reflection or behaved indesant and unbecoming a Gentlemen, I am verrey sorrey, and Humbley Ask that the Honorable Congress will impart it to the agitation of mind which I then was in concearning that several Persons that are Innemical to me, had been striving to Prejudice both the Honble Congress & Committee against me; And Gentlemen, I'm verey sorrey again to interrupt the Honble Congress in their Business, but hope you'll Excuse me in once more renewing my request that you be Pleased to Establish me at the Head of my Rigement when it is Nearley full, not Gent-

lemen that I'm so fond of bearing a Commission, but because there is so good, Coine of officers and large Number of Soldiers that are so strongly Attach'd to me that they will be greatley disappointed if they can't be favored with the leader they wish to go under; Therefore for the good of the Service, your pertishoner as in Dutey bound shall ever pray.

J. Brewer."

A resolve had been passed in the Second Provincial Congress May 29, 1775:

"That the papers respecting Jonathan Brewer, be transmitted by the secretary to the Committee of Safety, to be by them acted upon in such a manner as they think fit, so far as to determine on the expediency of recommending, or not recommending him, to this Congress, as an officer of the army now raising in this colony."

In the afternoon session of the Provincial Congress, June 3, 1775, "the papers respecting Col. Brewer were read. After debate, *Moved*, That the matter subside; the question being put, it passed in the negative. *Moved*, that the petitioner be admitted on the floor; the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

Resolved, That Tuesday next, at eight o'clock, A. M., be assigned for hearing Col. Jonathan Brewer, on the subject of certain papers laid before this Congress by order of the committee of safety, and that the committee of safety, as also Col. Brewer, be served with a copy of this resolve, and that Col. Brewer be directed to bring with him a return of the number of men enlisted in his regiment, distinguishing how many are present at head quarters, and how many are absent."

Tuesday, June 6, 1775, "The papers respecting Col. Brewer were read and Col. Brewer was then admitted, and, on his request, *Resolved* that Capt. Edwards, Capt. Butler, Lieut. Tuckerman, Col. Buckminster, Mr. Cudworth, Thomas Withington and Capt. Gray, be admitted on the floor of this house, as witnesses (evidence) in the cause.

The complaint of the committee of safety being read, and Col. Brewer

having had leave of making his defence, he was fully heard there in, as were also the witnesses by him produced, the galleries being first opened for any who were inclined to hear the cause.

Col. Brewer, having offered what he saw fit, withdrew with his witnesses, and the galleries being cleared, *Resolved*, that the further consideration of this matter be referred to the afternoon. . . . .

The Congress resumed the consideration of the case of Mr. Brewer; and after a long and full debate, it was *Moved*, that the question be put whether the president should be directed to deliver a commission to Mr. Brewer, as colonel of a regiment in the Massachusetts army, and it passed in the negative; the number of members present being 150, and but 70 for the question. Mr. Cushing informed the Congress that Mr. Benjamin Edwards on hearing at the door of this House of the determination of Congress respecting Mr. Brewer made use of the following expression, viz.:

'By God if this Province is to be governed in this manner it is time for us to look out, and 'tis all owing to the Committee of Safety, a pack of sappy headed fellows. I know three of them myself.'

Whereupon, *Resolved*, that Mr. Edwards be directed to attend them as to make answer to the above charge.

Mr. Edwards being called in, and having heard the charge alleged against him, it was

Resolved, that Mr. Edwards have leave to withdraw, and that he be directed to attend this Congress tomorrow morning at ten o'clock."

In the transactions of the next day we read that a "a petition from Col. Brewer and another from several nominal Captains under him were read and ordered to lie on the table." Also

"*Resolved* that Mr. Edwards be called in, and admonished by the President, which was done accordingly."

The difficulty was evidently promptly and satisfactorily adjusted, for on June 13, "Colonel" Jonathan Brewer, as shown further on in this article,

was appointed on an important committee, and commissioned two days later.

The following petition, without date is filed away in the archives under date of May 20, 1775:

"To the Honorable, the President and Members of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay—now sitting at Watertown in sd Province.

The Petiton of Jonathan Brewer, Esqr., of Waltham, Honorably Showeth, that your Petitioner having a desire of Contributing, all in his power for his Country's good, begg leave to propose to this Honble House, to March with a Body of five Hundred Volunteers to Quebeck, by Way of the Rivers Kennebeck and Chadier as he humbly begs leave to apprehend that such a Diversion of the Provincial troops into that part of Canada would be the Means of Drawing the Governor of Canada with his Troops into that Quarter and which would effectually Secure the Northern and Western Frontiers from any Inroads of the Regular or Canadian Troops. This he humbly Conceived he would Execute with all the Fecility Imaginable—he therefore beggs that the Honble Assembly Would take this proposal into Consideration and to act theiron as their wisdom shall Seem meet.

J. Brewer."

The earliest list of Field and Staff officers connected with this regiment was dated August 26, 1775, and was made up as follows:

"Colonel Jonathan Brewer, Waltham
Lieutenant Colonel William Buckminster, Hutchinson
Major Nathan Cudworth, Sudbury
Adjutant John Butler, Peterborough
Quartermaster Charles Dahorety, Framingham
Surgeon D. Townsend, Boston
Surgeon's Mate Hilleory Fuger, Lancaster"

The following list made up May 18, 1775, shows the strength of the companies at that date:

The companies in Captains Jno. Black, Isaac Gray, Abijah Childs

Ebenezer Winship and Edward Blake had each one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, 4 sergeants and one fifer. Captain Black's Company numbered 49 rank and file, total 57; Captain Gray's 37 rank and file, total 45; Captain Child's 55 rank and file, total 63; Captain Winship's 46 rank and file, total 54; Captain Blake's 34 rank and file, total 42.

The following Captains were reported as "recruiting, not joined."

Captains Simon Stevens, Daniel Whiting, Aaron Haynes, John Woods and John Dewey.

June 13, 1775, Colonel Jonathan Brewer was appointed by the Third Provincial Congress, one of a committee of eight colonels, including Glover, Heath, David Brewer and others "to make a true return to the committee on the claims and pretentions of several gentlemen claiming to be commissioned as Colonels; of the number of Captains, who, with their respective companies do choose to serve under the above named gentlemen respectively as colonels; of the number of men; of the number of effective fire arms in each company; and of the place or places where said companies are: on pains of forfeiting all pretention to a commission of a colonel in case of making a false return."

His commission as Colonel was ordered in Provincial Congress, June 15, 1775.

The above named committee reported June 15th as follows concerning Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment. That he had levied "eight companies, amounting, inclusive of officers, to the number of 397 men who choose to serve under him, the said Jonathan, as their chief colonel; and that 302 of said men, are armed with good firelocks; and that all of said men, excepting 27, who are on the road hither, are posted at Cambridge and Brookline; and the said Brewer supposes from accounts he has received, that one Captain Murray is on the road from Hatfield hither with a full company."

"A Return of Colo. Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, Cambridge, June 15, 1775:

Captains	Subalt's	Serg'ts	Corp's	Drum's	Fifers	Priv.	Arms Fit	Rounds	Not Joined	Place	Total
Isaac Gray	2	4	4	1	2	45	49	—	—	Cambridge	59
Edward Blake	1	1	—	1	1	35	2	—	15	"	55
John Black	2	4	4	1	2	45	49	300	—	"	59
Aaron Haynes	2	4	4	1	1	40	50	—	—	"	53
Daniel Whiting	2	4	4	1	1	36	47	—	2	Brookline	51
Benja. Ballard	2	4	4	1	2	31	35	600	—	Cambridge	45
Thaddeus Russell	2	4	4	1	2	29	40	220	10	"	53
Joseph Stebbins	–	2	2	1	–	16	20	320	—	"	22
Seth Murray	on their way. Supposed to be full.										

(Captain Ebenezer Winship's name was also in the above list but was erased.)

N. B. Capt. Child who Commanded a Compy in my Reg't Consisting of sixty Rank & File has as I am Inform'd Joynd Colo. Gardner's Reg't without my *Consent*. Capt. Winship's Compy mustered and Pd in Col. Nixon's Reg't but not comisioned"

"A Return of Officers to be Commissioned under Colo. Jonathan Brewer.
Vizt.—
William Buckminister, Lieut. Col.
Nath'l Cudworth, Major

Isaac Gray, Capt.
Thomas Willington, Lieut. 50
————Willson, Ensign

Edward Blake, Capt.
Abrm Tuckerman, Lieut. 54
John Emens, Ensign

John Black, Capt.
Benjn Gates, Lieut. 57
John Patrick

Aaron Haynes, Capt.
Elisha Brewer, Lieut. 56
————————, Ensn.

Daniel Whiting, Capt.
Zebediah Dewey, Lieut. 46
————————, Ensn.

Benjn. Bullard, Capt.
(Aron) Gardner, Lieut. 40
————, Ensn.

Thadeus Russell, Capt.
Nath'l Maynard, Lieut. 47
Nath Reeves, Ensn.

Joseph Stebbins, Capt.
———— ———— Lieut. 21
———— ————, Ensn.

(Spaces were left for two other sets of officers, not filled in.)

John Butler, Adjutant
Charles Dahaughty, Quartermaster
J. Brewer, Conel."

'In Committee of Safety, Cambridge, June 17, 1775.

Collo. Jonathan Brewer having satisfied this Committee that there are 371 men, in the eight Companies mentioned on the other side, it is recommended to the Honorable Provincial Congress that said Brewer's Regiment may be Commissioned accordingly.

William Cooper, Sec'y.

Ordered that a Commission be delivered to each of the officers within named except Joseph Stebbins, Capt."

This Regiment took an active part in the battle of Bunker Hill. The story of its activity as given by Frothingham in his "Siege of Boston" is as follows:

"Jonathan Brewer's regiment, of Worcester and Middlesex, consisted, June 15, of 397 men. William Buckminister was lieutenant colonel and Nathaniel Cudworth, major—all of whom did excellent duty in the battle. On the same day the committee of safety recommended the officers of this regiment to be commissioned, with the exception of Captain Stebbins, who did not have the requisite number of men. Colonel Swett states that this regiment went on about three hundred strong: revolutionary depositions state one hundred and fifty. It was stationed mostly on the diagonal line between the breastwork and the rail fence. Few details are given respecting Colonel Brewer other than that he was consulted often by Prescott and behaved with spirit and was wounded, or of Major Cudworth, the same who led the Sudbury minute-men to attack the British Troops on the 19th of April."

The casualties of this regiment in the battle consisted of twelve killed and twenty-two wounded, according to a list given in 4 Force II, 1628.

Two other companies joined this regiment in addition to those named in the foregoing lists. They were commanded by Captain Lemuel Trescott and Moses Harvey.

The principal towns represented in the regiment are shown in the following list:

Captains.
Benjamin Bullard, Sherborne, Dummerston, Charlestown, &c.
Daniel Whiting, Dedham, Tyringham, Needham, &c.
Edward Blake, Boston, Charlestown, Malden, Providence, &c.
Lemuel Trescott, Boston, Beverly, Deerfield, Cape Ann.
Moses Harvey, Hampshire County towns, Brattleborough.
Isaac Gray, Pelham, Greenwich.
John Black, Hutchinson, (Barre).
Aaron Haynes, Sudbury, Concord, Waltham, &c.
Joseph Stebbins, Deerfield, Tyringham, Sheffield, Kinderhook, &c.
Thaddeus Russell, Sudbury, Deerfield, &c.

During May and June this regiment was numbered the 19th in the Provincial Army, and when the Army of the United Colonels was formed

in July it became the 6th in that establishment and was assigned to General Greene's Brigade, Major General Lee's Division.

"Thirteen small arms were delivered Col. Jonathan Brewer, for the use of his regiment, amounting, as by appraisement to twenty-six pounds seven shillings, for which a receipt was taken in the minute book." (Records of the Committee of Safety, July 1, 1775.)

"Cambridge, July 4, 1775.

GENTLEMEN:

Whereas, a number of the men that enlisted in the different Companies in my Regiment have, through the low artifice and cunning of several recruiting officers of different Regiments, re-enlisted into other Companies, being over persuaded by such arguments as, that *Colonel* Brewer would not be commissioned, and that if they did not immediately join some other Regiment, they would be turned out of the service; others were tempted with a promise to have a dollar each to drink the recruiting officers health; others by intoxication of strong liquor; by which means a considerable number have deserted my Regiment, as will be made to appear by the returns therefrom, as also in the different Companies and Regiments they are re-enlisted into. In consequence of which my Regiment is, to the detriment of the service, considerably weakened; therefore your petitioner humbly prays that the Honorable Congress will take this matter into consideration, and either order the re-enlisted men to the several officers they first enlisted under, or be pleased to direct to some method of filling up the Regiment, as the Honorable Congress in their wisdom may see fit, and your petitioner, as in duty bound will ever pray.

Jonathan Brewer.

'To the Honorable Congress'

"The Committee on the Petition of Colonel *Jonathan Brewer* reported.

The report was accepted, and is as follows, viz:

Resolved, that the prayers of Colonel Brewer's Petition be so granted, that said Colonel *Brewer* be allowed to recruit men sufficient to complete his Regiment or so far as he can complete his said Regiment in twenty days: he not to enlist any person as a Soldier who shall not furnish himself with a good and sufficient fire arm."

(Provincial Congress, July 8, 1775.)

Colonels Jonathan and David Brewer petitioned the Board to com-

mission certain officers in their regiment, September 28, 1775, and the following action was taken.

"A Return of Officers in Colo. Jona. Brewer's Regiment that were appointed but not Commissioned by the Honble Congress through the Confusion that took place after the 17th of June, vizt:

Captains	Lieuts.	Ensigns	Sergts.	Corps	Drum-Fife	Private	Total
"Leml. Triscott	Nath'l Cushing	John Kilby Smith	4	4	3	41	55
Moses Harvey	John Clark	Elip: Hastings	4	3	3	42	55
Joseph Stibbens	John Chadwick	Charles Dohorety	4	4	2	37	50
		Josha Leland	5	4	3	35	50
		Aaron Whiting	4	4	3	40	54
		Abrm Williams	4	4	2	35	40

Staff Officers

Abrm Tuckerman, Adjutant
David Townsend, Surgeon
Harris Elly Fudger, " Mate
Charles Dehorety, Q. Master."

"Council Chamber Congress, Watertown, Sept. 27, 1775.

Sir:

We approve of the officers within named in Colo. Jonathan Brewer's rigiment and Recommend them to Receive Commissions according to their Rank. . . . .

To His Excellancy Gen'l Washington."

"Council Chamber, Watertown, Sept. 27, 1775.

Sir:

Colo. Jonathan Brewer having Signified to us that the following named officers have not Received Commissions in his Regiment. viz

Lemuel Triscott, Moses Harvey, Joseph Stebbins, Captains; Nathan Cushing, John Clarke, John Chadwick, Lieutenants; John Kibby Smith, Eliphelet Hastings, Charles Doherty, Joshus Lealand, Aaron Whiting, Abraham Williams, Ensigns.——————

Abraham Tuckerman, Adjutant
David Townsend, Surgeon
Harris Ellery Fudger, Surgeon's Mate
Charles Doherty, Quarter Master. . . . . .

We do accordingly approve them and Recommend them to Receive Commissions according to their Rank Respectively.

In the name of any By Order of the Council
Gen'l Washington.

In Council September 28, 1775.

Read and accepted and ordered to be signed and forwarded by the President of the Council.

Perez Morton, Dep. Sec'y."

Returns preserved in the archives show that the regiment was stationed at Prospect Hill in June 9, in July, September 30th and October 18th, 1775.

It remained there during the rest of the year.

The strength of the army through the year is shown in the following table:—

	Com. Off.	Staff	Non. Com.	Rank & File	Total
June 9, 1775	25	..	44	367*	436
July 1775	20	4	48†	374	446
Aug. 18, 1775	18	4	54	356	432
Sept. 23, 1775	23	5	46	350	424
Oct. 17, 1775	24	4	42	364	434
Nov. 18, 1775	19	3	34	349	405
Nov. 19, 1775	22	3	39	353	417

*Including Coporals, drummers and fifers.
†Including drummers and fifers.

Nineteen of the commissioned officers of this regiment had seen service in the French and Indian war or in the Provincial Militia, three having attained the rank of captain, one lieutenant and two that of ensign.

They attained rank during the American Revolution as follows; colonel 1, lieut. colonel 2, major 3, captain 16, first lieutenant 7, ensign 2 and surgeon 2.

Colonel Jonathan Brewer was assigned to the command of the 6th Regiment in the new establishment, that is the Continental Army, for 1776, but owing to the great disappointment of Colonel Asa Whitcomb in being left out, Colonel Brewer gave it up in his favor. A record of this appears

in 4 Force III pp. 1614–15, and in the same volume, pp. 541–2, a roster of the 6th regiment in the "new establishment" gives Colonel Jonathan Brewer as Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Buckminster, and Major Nathaniel Cudworth, being the other officers named.

COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER of Waltham, son of Jonathan and Arrabella Brewer, was born in Framingham, February 3, 1725–6. He became a large land holder and lived on the Goddard place in Framingham, later owned by J. H. Temple. From June 21st to September 19, 1754 he was a member of Captain John Johnson's Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment, serving in the defense of the Eastern Frontier. In 1770 he bought a farm on the line between Waltham and Watertown, where he kept a tavvern. His date of entry into service in the Revolution is given as April 24, 1775 and the various difficulties which he had in organizing his regiment have been given in the historical section of this article. His letter concerning a suggested invading of Canada written about May 20 or 21, 1775, is of peculiar interest and leads us to believe that the idea later carried out by Benedict Arnold and his men may have originated with Colonel Jonathan Brewer. At the Battle of Bunker Hill he went in with about 165 men and received a painful injury in the arm. The personal history of Colonel Jonathan Brewer during the remainder of 1775 has already been given in the historical section of this article, including his unselfish withdrawal in favor of Colonel Asa Whitcomb, when the regimental commanders were assigned to the Continental Army regiments for service in 1776.

In the General Orders dated "Headquarters, Jan. 5, 1776," taken from Col. Loammi Baldwin's Orderly book, an entry states that "if Colonel Brewer inclines to Except the appointment of Barrick master he is to proceed directly to discharge the duty of that office."

"Colony of the Mass. Bay.

To the Honl the Council & House of Representatives in Gen'l Court Assembled at Watertown June 4th 1776.

The Memorial of Jonathan Brewer of Waltham in the County of Middlesex & Colony aforesaid Esqr

Humbly Sheweth

That no sooner were Hostilities commenced by the British Troops, against the Liberties of America, than we Voluntarily entered the Field for the Defense thereof, and obtained of ye Honl Congress then Convened in this Colony, a Colonel's Comission & raised a Regiment; and he flatters himself in that Department as to merit the approbation of his Country, and in Particular so distinguished himself in the memorable Battle of Bunker Hill, wherein he had the Honour of a Command; & was still Continued in Command by his Excellency Gen'l Washington after the troops were taken into Continental Service, and in Complyance with the Request of the Genl he gave up his Regiment to the Command of Col. Whitcomb, and at the General's like Request officiated as Barrack Master General untill some other suitable Birth should offer in which Case he had the General's Promise for further Promothion, and as Vacancy now Exists your Memorialist being heartily inclined to serve his Country further & lend his assistance in this glorious Struggle for our Invaluable Privelidges Prays the Honl Court would Recommend him the memorialist to the Honble the Continental Congress for further Promotion which I have Promise from Genl Washington will be accompanid with his Letters to the like Purpose,

And as in Duty bound
shall ever Pray

J. Brewer, Coll."

"In House of Representatives, June 25, 1776, Resolved that if the Gen. Court recommend any other persons than the present Brigadiers and other Field Officers to command the several Battalions destined for York and Canada, that Col. Jonathan Brewer be recommended to command the Brigade destined for Canada."

"Com. of both Houses app. to consider a Letter received from the President of the Hon. Continental Congress dated June 25, 1776, reported a Resolve, that his Regiment be immediately raised . . . . for the Northern Canada Dept."

In the summer of 1776 he commanded a regiment of artificers which Heitman calls "The Massachusetts State Regiment of Artificers." August 12, 1776, this regiment was in Brigadier General McDowell's Brigade, General Sullivan's Division, and later in the month we also read of it in the

same Brigade. In the "Memorial History of New York" it is stated that in September this was stationed with the rest of the regiments in General Sullivan's Division to the west of the rest of the army, near Bayard's Hill, and held there as a reserve, During the latter part of the year, the regiment was with the Northern Army, according to returns dated September 22nd and November 9th of that year. He died January 4, 1784.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM BUCKMINSTER of Hutchinson (Barre), was the son of Colonel Joseph and Sarah (Lawson) Buckminster. He was born in Framingham December 15, 1736. His name appears as alarm man in Captain Lieutenant Jeremiah Belknap's (Framingham) Company, Colonel Buckminster's Regiment, April 26, 1757. Captain William Buckminster commanded the 2nd Rutland District Company in Colonel John Murray's 3rd Worcester County Regiment in June, 1771. He entered service in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, April 24, 1775, and was present with his command at the battle of Bunker Hill where he received a dangerous wound. A musket ball entered his right shoulder and came out in the middle of his back, making him a cripple for life. He held this rank in this regiment through the year, and January 1, 1776, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment in the Continental Army. In one of the records of this year he was reported "at New Rutland on account of wounds received June 17, 1775, at Bunker Hill." He died June 22, 1786. (See Col. John Nixon's Regiment.)

MAJOR NATHANIEL CUDWORTH of Sudbury was probably the man of that name who was born in Scituate, May 30, 1747, the son of Benjamin and Mary (Little) Cudworth. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, he marched as Captain of a Company of Minute Men in Colonel Abijah "Pierce's" Regiment. April 24, 1775, he entered service as Major in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's regiment, and he served in that command through the year. January 1st, he became Major in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army, and he continued in that organ-

ization until March 11th. The following letter shows why a change was made.

"Prospect Hill, March 11, 1776.

Sir:

Major *Cudworth,* lately discharged from Colonel *Whitcomb's* Regiment, has arrived to join Colonel *Bond's.* He is agreeable to the Field-Officers and satisfactory to the Captains and Subalterns. The Major is a good, prudent officer, and left the former regiment only because there was not proper order and discipine maintained in it. I esteem him worthy of the appointment; and if your Excellency's sentiments correspond with mine, should be glad he might receive his appointment to fill the vacancy in Colonel *Bond's* Regiment.

I am, with profound respect,
Your Excellency's Most obedient humble Servant,
Nathaniel Greene.

To General Washington."

He became Major of Colonel Bond's 25th Regiment in the Continental Army on this date, and served through the year. He died January 21, 1826.

(To be continued in the October issue.)

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

The *New York Times* continues to be the chief medium of expression regarding the tercentenary celebration in commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims in Massachusetts

John Cotton Dana advanced a unique suggestion in their columns, for the establisment of a New England Institute. The letter was as follows:

To Carry On New England Traditions

Merely to celebrate by exhibitions, pageants, parades and demonstrations, however lofty in conception or elaborate and polished in execution, the 300th year of New England's existence would be quite futile. Indeed, it would be worse than futile; it would be harmful. For it would tend to arouse in all who are of New England descent the feeling that there is something meritorious in the mere lapse of time, in the mere rounding of centuries, in the mere persistence of families, of traditions and of habits, and even in the mere increase in numbers of those born of New England. It would, moreover, tend to make New England a subject of unpleasant comment for its boastfulness and would tend to arouse, even in the gentlest of outlander critics, a wish to add a certain spite to his comments and to find new joints in the armor of New England's proper pride.

If New England's influence has been very great for 300 years, and we believe it has; and if that influence has been in large part helpful, and we believe it has; then the things that obviously wait to be done on an occasion such as the year 1920 will bring to us are:

1. To discover what results of that influence have been most helpful.
2. To discover if it continues to this day and is still helpful.
3. To try to increase that influence.

At once it is clear that this program calls for careful study, unprejudiced observation, and serious labor.

To these suggestions can be added, and, no doubt, should be added, such self-satisfying and self-glorifying exercises as will delight the young and will give the celebrating spirits of adults full opportunity to express itself. But surely the occasion has to be approached seriously if it is to be so treated as to produce results of any value.

Perhaps it is not important that New England, as we have known it, be preserved. There are many who think it has already done all that it should do in guiding the manners and morals of the country and that the world would be better from now on if New England, as such, were to go quietly out of existence. Perhaps those who say this are right. The next four years give us a good opportunity and the coming of 1920 a good excuse to inquire into the matter honestly and diligently.

I believe it will be possible to make this study so graphic and to engage in it the activitiss of so many of our fellows, and especially of the young, that the study itself will in some degree answer the two questions already given, and will at the same time tend to do what my third statement suggests, increase the sum total of so much of the New England essence as has proved helpful.

My suggestion is that we establish in Boston a New England Institute; that this institute be so carefully designed as to its chartered purposes and be placed in the hands of persons, men and women from both East and West, so well suited to its government that it will gain at once the confidence of all who are interested in learning what New England was, what New England has done for America, and what further good, if any, it can do. There would be certain very great advantages in placing the headquarters of this institute in Chicago. That city is central to that vast area in which the New England-born and their descendants have, perhaps, chiefly exerted their influence. An institution established in Chicago to work out plans for the most helpful use of the interest and zeal which the approach of 1920 may easily excuse, would enjoy a certain detachment and a certain calmness of view which could not be readily assumed in Boston. Moreover, the study of New England's influence and of methods for reviewing that influence might best be conducted in the heart of that region where that influence has been chiefly exerted and most felt.

This institute, wherever established, will proceed at once to discover and disclose what New England has done, what part of its work has been most worthy, and how that work can be continued.

At the very outset the institute will meet this question: New England is now, in a measure, out of the line of the country's development; it has neither iron nor coal; it has not a great foreign market centre; it is being left behind, in many meanings of that phrase: now, how can the institute use the year 1920, with all that it may imply to every person of New England descent, so that it will bring to New England of to-day the greatest possible financial, commercial, and industrial advantages? The institute should face this question frankly. It should not pretend to ignore it. It should openly include in it works such activities as will benefit New England's industrial conditions, and should not attempt to conceal those activities behind a screen of ardent expressions on Puritanism, godliness, sanctity, or culture. That is, the institute should have a frankly commercial side.

The institute would at once engage the services of students, statisticians, and writers who would investigate and report upon the three inquiries I have above set down. This is not the place for detailed suggestions. Obviously, the inquiries would be made in such a manner as to arouse the interest of those of New England descent wherever found. Obviously, also, they would be so conducted as to call forth criticisms, favorable and unfavorable, from the more observant and studious outlander. As soon as results of interest and value were secured, the institute might well establish a journal, to be called "New England: 1920," which should have a wide appeal, as the product of serious study of New England's history and influence, and for its careful and explicit statements of the plans which the institute would, in due course, set forth for reviewing New England's specific characteristics, if such are found to exist, and for re-establishing their influence, if such re-establishment promises on investigation to be worth while.

On the industrial and commercial side the institute should investigate the subject of an exposition. It would undoubtedly discover that such an enterprise, if conducted after the conventional manner, would be an utter failure. There is some evidence, however, that if it were made in accordance with the best pedagogical advice, and were devoted not to the exploitation of firms and individuals but of processes and results, and were kept so small and arranged so skilfully that it would neither fatigue not bewilder, it would attract many and help many. It could quite easily be accompanied by an exhibit, largely graphic, which should present New England's problems of transportation and manufacture so clearly as almost automatically to suggest solutions for some of them.

The institute would make a careful study of celebrations and exhibits of all kinds, especially in Europe. It would probably find it wise to recommend that on a large tract of land near Boston there be established a museum of New England farm and community life. It was on the farm and the small village that New Englandism, so far as there ever was a congeries of thought, action and feeling that deserved that title, chiefly developed, disclosed itself and exerted its influence. Typical farmhouses of several periods, with accompanying buildings, would here be erected, with all their appurtenances proper to their several dates, and with all their accompanying work being carried on by persons who would give themselves for a time to the task. Not from New England only, but from all the West as well, would

surely come men and women, boys and girls, who would gladly give each a few weeks to demonstrating, in veritable copies of ancient houses, how their forbears lived among New England hills. So far as possible the farm life and the village life here re-created should disclose the changes wrought in them by the coming of the age of machines and of the specialization of labor.

The chief value of this outdoor museum of New England's domestic, social and economic history would lie, not in the establishment and maintenance thereof, and not in the many thousand visits made thereto by old New Englanders and their children, but in the countless minor copies thereof which the institute would cause to be set up in villages, towns and cities of the West where New England's descendants are influential.

The institute, in creating the outdoor museum, would not attempt to secure and use original objects, entire buildings or clothing, furniture and implements; it would cause copies of typical originals to be made and would see to it that any group or society wishing to set up either a colonial room or a complete farmhouse or a group of buildings could get specific directions therefor and accurate copies of smaller objects at cost price.

In addition to the outdoor museum of New England life, the institute would establish also an indoor museum, much wider in its scope than the one set up in the open. Indeed, the indoor establishment is quite fundamental to the whole enterprise as I have ventured to conceive it. This museum is not a museum at all in the common meaning of that word. It is not a collection of objects of rarity and value, expensively housed, elaborately set up in cases in an atmosphere thoroughly chilled by the presence and dominance of an ancient and now quite useless system. It is an organization of skilled students and workers who are studying the whole question of New England's place in America for 300 years, and are giving out the results of that study as rapidly as possible. They are seeking for methods by which all that is best of New England thought and feeling may be so renewed and extended that it may once again lead to conduct as stimulating, practical and widely helpful as we believe the conduct born of New Englandism long has been. They are collecting books, documents, pictures and articles, by purchase, loan and gift, illustrative of New England life for 300 years, and they are daily using material thus gathered, not merely storing it. If those articles of interest and of value for the purposes they have in mind, of which it is impossible for them to acquire originals, they cause copies to be made, and duplicates of these copies they sell or lend, as already indicated, to those who wish to set up in city, town or village, East or West, something reminiscent of New England, from a modest temporary exhibit to a complete reconstructed house. They do not stop with things illustrative of the daily life of early New Englanders. They attempt to gather, and to use as material for instruction, whatever will seem to show how New Englandism has expressed itself in actions and disclosed itself in products. In the fields of literature, of the graphic arts, and of architecture, science and invention and discovery, they find reports, documents, pictures and objects, which, being sutiable arranged and labeled, and being copied, many times if need be, help to make clear to inquirers and observers the nature and extent of New England influence.

I am trying to make clear, in as few words as possible, the outlines of the suggestion that this New England institute should set on foot, through its studios, its correspondence, its journal, its teaching collections, its reproductions and its sheets of instructions, an interest on the part of all New Englanders, wherever they may be, old and young, in the recrudescence of the New England idea. The institute should hope and expect to lead a few enthusiasts in each of a thousand villages, towns, and cities to do that which, as I am trying to suggest, will alone make a "celebration" truly worth while; that is, to set before each of their respective communities such literature and such groups of objects and pictures as will lead them to attempt to live anew so much of New England life as will arouse, at least in the young, a keen interest in that life, and a wish to copy today so much of it as their judgment, their times and their temper permit.

Let me give one very homely illustration: New England has long been notable for the neatness of its home grounds and of its towns and villages. This neatness is probably due to certain qualities that lie normally in New Englandism. Our institute would tell of this quality of neatness and would illustrate it, and would attempt to persuade those of New

England descent in all parts of the country to practice home and civic neatness more diligently than ever before during all or a certain part of the year 1920. With the young especially it would happen that when they thus conduct themselves in the manner of neatness they would be helping the habit of neatness to develop in them.

As with neatness, so with other virtues, both minor and major. And our New England institute, taking the lapse of three centuries merely as an excuse, would, during the four years of its activities, be making a continuous effort to produce worthy results in habits and actions, instead of merely celebrating with piffle and bombast the life that has been lived, the things that have been done, and the good habits that threaten to disappear.

The Public Library, Newark.

The Springfield Republican gave Mr. Dana's idea very hearty endorsement in the following editorial:

A "New England Institute"

A new turn has been given the past week to discussion of the Pilgrim tercentenary by a former highly-regarded resident of Springfield, John Cotton Dana. In a letter two columns in length, printed on the editorial page of the New York Times, Mr. Dana argues against the proposal that the event shall be celebrated by a pageant or other large public demonstration, and suggests that something shall be done with the object or reviving what he calls "the New England idea." His own proposal is a "New England institute," which shall study the New England influence in all its manifestations in the American republic, and help to make that influence prevail.

Under three heads he summarizes the proper objects of such an institute: "(1) to discover what results of that influence have been most helpful; (2) to discover if it continues to this day and is helpful, and (3) to try to increase that influence." Whatever one may think of his plan for carrying out the investigation here outlined, a great number of true New Englanders in all parts of the country should be grateful to Mr. Dana for his vigorous plea that the coming observance shall be educational, and not spectacular, and that it shall have the large purpose of studying and, if possible, perpetuating the best of New England's influences in our national life.

Mr. Dana's plan, though it may fairly be characterized as ambitious, indicates a cautious use of the imagination. It is carefully thought out, and is nowise impractical in its essentials. His institute would enlist the services of a corps of earnest students and administrators, who should investigate the influence of New England and make known in attractive form the results of their investigation. Such an institute might be established in Boston, but he is inclined to prefer Chicago, as being removed a sufficient distance from New England territory, and as being in the center of "that region where that influence has been chiefly exerted and felt." Some of his concrete proposals are a study of New England's commercial possibilities, the establishment of a paper to be called "New England, 1920," investigation of the subject of an exposition in 1920 of New England exhibits throughout the West, and a museum of New England farm and community life, to be established near Boston. These may not mean much apart from Mr. Dana's ably-reasoned statement of his project, but the underlying purpose, to study and disseminate the influence of New England, will be apparent.

Already some objections to Mr. Dana's plan have appeared. For instance, Arthur Elliot Sproul of New York, writing as a man of New England birth, thinks it would be a mistake for New Englanders to attempt to enforce their conception of life upon the growing West. He says: "The people who live in those localities—like most of the rest of mankind—would resent the attempt to direct them in any such way. They feel competent to arrange their own conditions of life, and if New Englanders who live in those communities wish to stimulate civic betterment, the one effective way to do that is by silent

example and not be avowed instruction." This is good advice. But, of course, Mr. Dana means only to make western people more conscious of the debt of their communities and the country as a whole to the life which our ancestors lived here in New England. However, if the West is the region where the New England influence most prevails, it may not be necessary to import any symbols of our eastern life into those progressive and high-minded communities. Possibly we could learn from them a lesson in genial and democratic sociability and some other lessons.

Here, perhaps, is a suggestion by which we can profit in laying our plans for the tercentenary. It is that we should raise our own life to the New England level, and not trouble about the rest of the country. Our example is worth more than any propaganda; and, besides, no honest American of to-day can care to have the country's debt to New England considered apart from its debt to other great colonial communities—Virginia, for example—or with any undue idealizing of New England life and character. There is, to be sure, much historical information that should be rendered more generally accessible, and one function of the tercentenary, unless it entirely misses its rightful purpose, will be to increase by a hundredfold our knowledge of our ancestors, the lives they lived, and the projects in which they engaged. Especially should the characters of worthies and benefactors be studied, for few people appreciate how much romance there is in such a book as the National Cyclopedia of American Biography.

But above all there is the need of reviving the best spirit of the old New England, and making our people conscious that they were born into a great tradition, which the conditions of modern life are tending to obscure. It is not true that New England is going to seed, though it is correct enough to say that not a few New England communities, through economic and social causes have gone to seed already. But there is need of a more alert consciousness and a greater desire to infuse the life of today with the old spirit. The Congregationalists are doing the right thing when they set up an increased membership as one of the goals to be attained before 1620, for it is by such measures as these that a practical revival of New England can be achieved. There is evidence that much thought is being given to the question of what the tercentenary can be made to mean to us, and Mr. Dana's letter on the editorial page of the most representative New York newspaper is proof that we cannot keep our celebration to ourselves if we try; and, of course, we don't want to keep anything to ourselves but our preaching.

A letter from Arthur Elliot Sproul, referring to the *Republican* editorial, was published as follows:

THE NEW ENGLAND CELEBRATION.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

I thank you for republishing the admirable editorial of *The Springfield Republican* regarding the suggested "New England Institute" as part of the coming Pilgrim tercentenary. Two sentences in it are so completely in harmony with my own view, as expressed in my recent letter to *The Times*, that I ask you to print them again:

We should raise our own life to the New England level, and not trouble about the rest of the country. Our example is worth more than any propaganda.

It's all there—and particularly in the final eight words.

ARTHUR ELLIOT SPROUL.

New York.

These and other communications have aroused several contributors to an expression of opinions not wholly favorable to the idea of a celebration

at all and critical of New England's priority of settlement, her "press agents," etc. It is always interesting to "see ourselves as others" see us, as Burns put it, so we reprint three of those communications herewith.

THE VIRGINIA COLONY.

To the Editor of the New York Times:

While it is true, as Mr. Brewster states in your issue for Monday, that a brick tower remains as the only surviving object of old Jamestown, yet that town was a place of importance for nearly one hundred years after the first settlement. Newport News was established as a place of habitation before the Pilgrims ever thought of emigrating. If Mr. Brewster will visit that spot, he will find there over 25,000 people, who are simply the last link in a chain of community life which has never been broken from that day to this. This town alone would knock to pieces the quibble which Mr. Brewster suggests about Jamestown in order to give a precedence to Plymouth, which Plymouth itself never claimed. Probably no assertion has ever been more fully disproved than Berkeley's that Virginia had no free schools in his day. At the very time he spoke the Symmes and Eaton free schools were in active operation, and have continued in existence down to the present day, as any one will see who visits Hampton. This old slander is constantly turning up in the mouths of those ignorant of the Virginian colonial history. The number of the latter north of Maryland seems to increase rather than to decline.

PHILIP ALEXANDER BRUCE.

Bennington, Vt.

JAMESTOWN AND PLYMOUTH.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

In an editorial article, "Pilgrim Commemoration," the writer refers to the "arrival of the Mayflower people" as "the first lasting English colony founded in what was to be the United States." This, of course, is an oversight; the writer has merely overlooked the fact that the permanent colony at Jamestown, Va., was established thirteen years and six months before the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth, and that when they landed there in December, 1620, more than a thousand English men, women, and children, were living in Virginia under a settled representative government, with their own laws made in their own House of Burgesses; and that other thousands had, during the trying years since 1607, given up their lives in Virginia in laying the foundations of "what was to be the United States."

It will be an interesting part of the commemoration to call to mind the part which the Virginia Company of London had in the outgoing of the Pilgrims; that, for instance, in 1617, their representatives, Robert Cushman and John Carver, applied to Sir Edwin Sandys, a most influential member of the Virginia Company, for help, which resulted in their receiving a patent from the Virginia Company, issued in the name of John Wincap, and sealed June 9, 1619. And thus it was that the Mayflower sailed under the auspices of the Virginia Company, and is reported in the "Official Note of Shipping," which was made to the Court of the Virginia Company which met early in 1621. When the Pilgrims determined, on arriving on this side, not to go on to Virginia, but to stop in New England, then, of course, the patent was not used; but it had served its purpose in giving them legal status as colonists when they left England.

It may also be recalled that at least two of those who "came over in the Mayflower" had already been in Virginia. John Clarke, the pilot of the Mayflower, had made many voyages to Virginia, and finally returned to Virginia, and settled and died there. Stephen Hopkins had been an old planter in Virginia as early as 1610, and had later returned to England; while Christopher Martin, who was Governor of the Mayflower, and Treasurer for the Pilgrims, was a member of the Virginia Company and owned land in Virginia.

In commemorating the influence of the Pilgrims, there will be much to be said, and in this connection, also, it will be well not to forget the influence of that other type of man and of character which was developed in the older colony, Virginia. Of the Mother of Colonies and States, the gifted and generous Lowell has said:

"She gave us that imperial gentleman,
And gave to us a nation, giving him."

We may well be thankful and proud of the varied and rich products of our great country, above all of her great men, and of the histroy they have made.

C. Braxton Bryan.

Petersburg, Va.

Why Not a New York Institute?

To the Editor of The New York Times:

I have read the numerous articles appearing on the editorial page of your paper favoring the idea promulgated by my esteemed friend, John Cotton Dana, Librarian of the Free Public Library of Newark, of the establishment of a New England Institute, which "should investigate the influence of New England and make known in attractive form the results of their investigation." Might not the investigation prove to be less attractive than our New England friends are led to expect? They must remember that New England has been especially fortunate in her press agents, but, like those of others, all their stories will nor bear close examination.

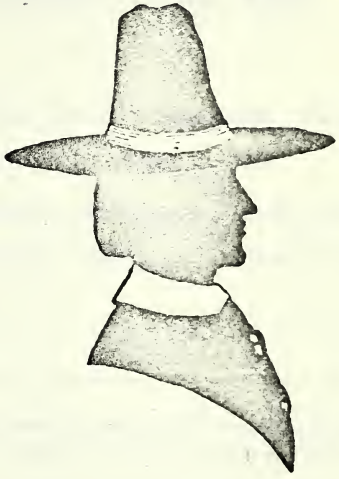
This is particularly true of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods. Those interested in research pointing to these periods have found that New England's press agents were very much like those of the present day. Poor, dear old New York, you never were a very good advertiser, always allowing your deeds to be judged by their results. Still, more history was made within our boundaries than in all the other States combined. More important events occurred within the limits of New York City than in any other in the whole Union. More epoch-making meetings were held within the walls of the Merchant's Coffee House (located southeast corner of Wall Street and Water Street) than in any other building on the face of the whole continent.

Then why not establish an institute devoted to the promulgation of New York's influence? New York has grown from one of the smallest cities in the Union to the largest in the world, which cannot have been from mere haphazard luck. Should there be such an institute, this investigation would establish facts that would astonish the world; and yet New York remains without one day devoted to any event occurring within its boundaries, nor in memory of one of its great men.

A. Wakeman,
Secretary Committee of Nine.

New York.

THE MASSACHVSETTS MAGAZINE



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HECTOR ST. JOHN, AN OLD EVASIVE PLANTER

Read Before the Old Planters' Society of Salem, in Boston, Nov. 15, 1916

By F. B. Sanborn, of Concord.

Ladies, and Gentlemen; Old Planters came from Europe to New England and to Canada for various reasons, good, bad and indifferent; some to imprové their fortunes, some to worship God in the way their own consciences approved; others from a mixture of these and other reasons. Still others came because they were searched for at home, and if found, might be persecuted, either for political or religious offenses, like the Protestants of France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1682, or the Regicides of the English Revolution of 1640–1660, which Clarendon styles the "Great Rebellion." These migrated, for the most part in the 17th century; the French earlier than the English, and going mainly to what are now called Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and the coast of Maine. The English, a little later came to Virgina, New York and New England; like your ancestors, they were apt to settle in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire and Rhode Island and they were either fishermen, then a very pro-

fitable pursuit, or, like those Judean fisherman, of whom they read much in their Bibles, they combined fishing with Christian apostleship, or discipleship; and in each Colony might set up a different sect of Protestant Christianity. This peculiarity led them to come over in groups, either with some English, Dutch or French Protestant pastor, or to join the Colony in which such pastors had made their permanent settlememt.

In the 18th Century, when the Colonies had grown larger as well as more numerous, the motives for emigration, the means of occupation, and the facilities for rambling about in a new country, were much increased, and all sorts of adventures and adventurers appeared, in the most staid and sober communities. Many came as soldiers, or enlisted after their arrival, and, when the terms of their military service ended, might find themselves settled in some locality far from their original emigrant abode. One of these 18th Century Planters, who gloried in the occupation of a Farmer, and wrote a very popular book on that subject,— the "Letters of an American Farmer," so wove a veil of mystery about his departure from his native France and his adopted England, the time of his arrival, the place of his abode, and the nature of his occupation and his social relations, that it is only of late, a century and a half after we know he was in our hemisphere, that we have learned how he got here and why he came. This old, evasive Planter, calling himself Hector St. John, and buying land and writing a famous book under that name, found himself, at the age of five-and-forty, entitled to another name; and he sold the farm which he had bought under his first name, recording the Deed by his second appellation, and giving his three children, born on that farm, the French name of Crevecoeur, though they had been educated here in Boston as Fanny and Lewis St. John. Both the father and the children were such interesting persons, that, for more than 100 years, the world has been talking and writing about them; though their own descendants in Paris have but recently found out what happened to them when their friend Dr. Franklin was printing Poor Richard's Almanac in Philadelphia, and his unknown fellow-author was living obscurely in that Quaker City.

Hector St. John was born in Caen, a city of Normandy, in January 1735, as Michel Guillaume San Jean de Crevecoeur, the son of noble parents, of a family famous in France for centuries at that time. He had a Latin and French education at a Jesuit school in Normandy, and, as a lad of 16, went over to Salisbury in England, to reside with some distant kinswomen named Mutet, who are supposed to have been French Protestants (Hugenots) of the persecuted sect to which belonged the Martineaus and Bosanquets of England, and the Bowdoins, Sigourneys, Jays, Delanceys and Laurenses of New England, New York and South Carolina. How he left England and first found himself in America, is yet unknown, and there are two or three different theories on the subject, held by his father, the Marquis de Crevecoeur, and by his great grandson and biographer Robert de Crevecoeur, who published his biography and portrait at Paris in 1883.

In the year 1772, his father, the Marquis, requested the French ambassador in London to obtain from the English Foreign Office or Plantation Office, a certificate of his son's life or death at that date,—not having heard from him in America for five years previous. He accompanied his request with a description of the young man's person and features, even to his freckles, and added:

"Leaving France for England 18 years ago (1754) he first lived with some old maids named Mutet in the town of Salisbury. Through them he became acquainted with persons who had business in Philadelphia; and for eight or nine years he lived in Pennsylvania, at the city of Philadelphia." (This would bring the youth to about 1763,—he being then 28 years old.)

"He was in Philadelphia in the capacity of partner or agent of a merchant, (name and kind of merchandize unknown), and the last heard from him was in 1767. He must know English very well, at least,—he so professes. It is unknown whether he is married, or if he has been; we only know that, shortly after he reached England, he was to marry the only daughter of a merchant. But she died before the marriage; and it was this fact that procured for him the interest he has in Philadelphia.

Important family concerns require the information here sought; and it is hoped that it can be furnished to the French Ambassador."

Now the descendants of St. John in Paris, in possession of his family papers, do not seem to have had this document, when his great-grandson published, in French, St. John's 'Life and Works' in 1883. They probably know it now, from Miss Julia Post Mitchell, who has finished his biography in English, and published it in New York last summer. She discovered the document (in French) in London a few years since; just as she discovered other important contemporary documents about St. John in old New York, which disclose his social and political affinities as a naturalized citizen of the Province of New York, after he was naturalized under a special act of the Provincial legislature in 1765–6. His French biographer, without professing to know with certainty when he left England and came to America, yet believed that he came first to Canada, and that, when the French and Indian war came on, in 1754–5, in which Braddock was slain in Pennsylvania, and Montcalm commanded in Canada, St. John, under his father's name of Crevecoeur, served as an officer and engineer, under Montcalm, and was at the Indian massacre of Fort William Henry in 1757. A French Lieutenant named Crevecoeur did serve in the regiment of Sarre,—and though he was born in Paris and not in Normandy, and was three years younger than our hero, his French biographer believes the two Crevecoeurs were one and the same. This is every way improbable, and Miss Mitchell cannot believe it, in the face of the precise French hue-and-cry for the son of the Marquis, which she, and she alone, discovered in London, where his French descendant never thought of looking. He did discover that the Mutet ladies were related to a sister-in-law of the Marquis, who was St. John's aunt.

Assuming that the hue-and-cry is genuine, and that implies a serious breach between the Marquis and his only son,—what was the occasion of it? It was important enough to cause the son to break off correspondence, direct and indirect, with his father, to get himself made an American citizen, and to buy a farm and cultivate it for several years, with no apparent intention of going back to reside in France. My theory of the cause is this:

The proposed bride of St. John in England was doubtless a Protestant, and probably below the Norman Crevecoeurs in rank; it would then be unlikely that the Marquis would consent to the match. His refusal would make the marriage unlawful, as French law then stood. This may have been the reason for postponing the wedding for years, and giving time for the early death of the English bride, whose relatives were engaged in the American trade. Meanwhile the youth had completed an English education, in mathematics and geometry, so that, in Pennsylvania, he took up the business of a land-surveyor, in which he exercised his talent in drawing, to make maps and draw profile portraits, like my Grandfather's friend, Akin, the Newburyport engraver of 1808; who in that year drew profile water color-portraits of my grandparents, in Hampton Falls, N. H. and very good likenesses. St. John seems to have been an artist rather better than Akin, but did not use his talent in caricature, as Akin did. His descendants in Paris sent me a photograph of the landscape which St. John drew of his house and field at Blooming-Grove, in Orange County, New York, with a negro plowman breaking up the sward, with a great plow, and the boy, Philip Lewis riding on the beam of the plow, in a chair fastened upon it; while the father and mother, under a tree of the Pine-Hill Farm, watch the pleasure of the three-year old child.

I had this pretty view engraved for a volume of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society of 1906, and also for the Pennsylvania Historical Magazine, to whose readers I introduced the French biography of St. John, whose one English volume displayed so much knowledge of farming in Pennsylvania, and of the good Quakers his contemporaries.

In the family biography it is assumed that the two Crevecoeurs were identical; and the family professed not to know the date, nor the way by which our St. John (as he always called himself before 1781), reached Canada. They have a tradition that he was in Lisbon after the great earthquake of 1755. At that time, according to this statement made by his father, St. John was living in England, having gone there in 1754. He says himself, in one passage, that he went there in 1751. He evidently did not go to Phil-

adelphia as a merchant before 1758, and he went there from England, and not from Canada. There is no evidence that he was in Normandy between 1754 and 1781, and he was plainly at variance with his father for many years. Probably, as I have said it was upon the point of his marriage in England, with a person not of his own rank nor of his father's Catholic religion. He did actually marry in New York, a French Protestant, Mehitabel Tippet, whom he may have been wooing in 1767, when he finally broke off communication with his father. He was married in 1769, and in 1772, when his father asked a certificate of his life or death, he was cultivating his farm in Orange County, which he bought in 1769 (120 acres for $875, with a good house) under the name of Hector St. John, of Ulster County, 'gentleman'. He sold it in 1785, under the same name, for $1250, but he then signed as 'St. John de Crevecoeur'.

Now what were the "exigent family concerns" which made his father desire a certificate of his life or death? Apparently, a wish to establish his own title, as Marquis de Crevecoeur, to the fief in Normandy which had usually gone with the title. It had so gone to the two deceased uncles of Hector St. John, who were older than his father. If the Marquis of 1772 could show that he had then a son living, capable of continuing the entail, the property, as well as the title, might come to St. John's father. For private reasons, which then seemed good, St. John wished to keep his marriage from the knowledge of his father; later, for reasons equally good, he wished to establish the fact of his legal marriage in New York, and the legitimate birth of his three children, two of whom, Fanny St. John, and Philippe Louis were educated in Boston, as I showed in my Historical paper of 1906.

Through Mr. Turner, an American in Paris, originally a resident of St. Johnsbury, Vt. (named for St. John by his friend Ethan Allen), I was, in 1905 in correspondence with the Crevecoeurs of Paris, and was importing, through Mr. Goodspeed of Park St. Boston, copies of the family biography, which were sold only by the widow of the deceased biographer. Prof. Trent of Columbia brought the book to the notice of Miss Mitchell, a post-graduate student of his, and directed her attention to the broad field

of inquiry which the subject opened to her. She accepted the task in 1907, and after half a dozen years, and while she was herself a resident of an English College in China, Prof. Trent carried her volume through the press at New York.

From the French biography she learned that he had been collecting facts about the English and French Colonies in America, for many years, and had them written down in English,—having, by long disuse, lost the facility of writing good French, though he spoke it colloquially; that these manuscripts, in the form of letters addressed to his friend, William Seton of New York, a Loyalist, he carried with him to New York City in 1779, where they were inspected by Gen. Patterson, who arrested St. John as a suspected spy of our French allies, and he was imprisoned there for several months. Finally, upon the surety of his friend Seton, Sir Henry Clinton allowed him to sail for France by way of Ireland and England, to rejoin his father, William Augustin de Crevecoeur of Pierpont, near Caen in Normandy. He arrived there in August 1781, having in London sold to a bookseller, Davies, enough of his manuscripts to make up the volume of "Letters of an American Farmer," which Davies published in 1782. It soon became one of the 'best sellers' in England; was reprinted in Dublin, and translated into Dutch and German, and in 1784 appeared at Paris in a French translation, supervised by St. John himself, though he was not yet capable of writing correct French.

The version of 1784 was much larger than the English original, and was still more enlarged by a third volume, of new matter, in 1787. The variations are striking. In 1779, he professed to Gen. Patterson in New York City to be a British Loyalist,—and his chapter in the London 'Letters' revealed him in that capacity Gen. Patterson had reported.

(July 8, 1779) "Mr. Hector St. John immediately came to me, and I directed Captain Adye to attend him to the house of the Revd. Mr. Brown where he is used to reside when he comes to New York.....He put into their hands a bundle of papers containing certificates, etc. relative to his having been imprisoned and otherwise ill-used for his attachment to the Govern-

ment; they likewise found a small trunk which he had put into the care of Mr. Brown. It was opened and examined in my presence, and contained a great number of manuscripts; the general purport of which appears to be a sort of irregular Journal of America, and a State of the Times of some years back; interspersed with occasional Remarks, philosophical and Political; the tendency of the latter is to favor the side of the Government, and to throw odium on the proceedings of the opposite Party, and upon the Tyranny of their Popular Government.....

The account he gives of himself is that he is a native of Caen in Normandy, but came into the country many years ago, and was naturalized: that he first went into the Mercantile Line, but afterwards bought a farm in Orange County, on which he settled; but was obliged to quit it about six months ago, and leave his family and property behind, on account of the persecution he underwent from his attachment to Government; and that during his leisure hours he amused himself with making such literary observations as occurred to him: which he is convinced will, upon perusal do him credit, in the opinion of those attached to the King's government: has never, kept them secret from those of his acquaintance who were thus attached; but took pains and found great difficulty, whilst among the Rebels, to conceal them."

This information he enlarged upon in a letter to Roger Morris, to whom he applied for rations as an impoverished Loyalist:

"Like a great many others, I have relinquished the conveniences of life, —Property, Servant, etc.; these incidents however, have now become so common that I am very conscious they are less thought of. So many sacrifices of the same kind have been made, that the calamities of each Individual seem to be drowned in the general mass; yet they are not less felt by each sufferer. Myself and son are now become Refugees in this Town; and I find myself obliged to apply to you for the indulgence of Rations for us both, from this date, (Feb. 17, 1779),—the only reward of four years of contumely received, of Fines imposed, imprisonments, etc. The enclosed letters from persons better known to you than myself, will, I hope, convince you that my request is founded on Necessity."

His friend, Seton, endorsed this request, and spoke of St. John as "a man of Letters, and a very accurate topographical knowledge of this Country."

The Trinity Church wardens employed him to survey their city lands, and for doing so, and making a field-book for them, he was paid some $50; but the work almost cost his life. He used white handkerchiefs for signals on his staves, and the drunken sailors who saw them, mistook them for the white flags of France, and would have put him to death.

The parallel between St. John and his successor in Nature-studies, Henry Thoreau, became closer from the fact that Thoreau was for ten years a land-surveyor, and map-maker. Both deserved the praise of the German poet Baumbach, and regret of kindred:

Baumbach thus addressed his rambling friend;

They tell me Thou hast talents rare,
Would make thee shine in Fashion's mazes;
The favor of the Great, the Fair,
Full oft to wealth and honor raises;
But thou hadst rather wander free
In field and wood, as roam the breezes:
To loiter on the grassy lea,
And list the birds,–thy fancy pleases.

Let Friends, Cousins all deplore
That wayward life,–what recks the Rover?
The Bee doth gather honey more
Than in the hothouse,–from wild Clover.

Thoreau spent but a single night in the Concord Gaol; but St. John, after a year and a half among his loyalist friends in New York City, half the time in close confinement as a French spy, found he had impaired his robust constitution, and planted the seeds of his last illness, ere he reached 70. This was in 1813; but before that he had a series of ups and downs, adversity and prosperity, enough to fill out a three-volume novel. He fin-

ally got away from New York in a fleet of 80 English ships, convoyed against Paul Jones by war vessels, on his way to meet his father, whose message of 1772 he seems to have tardily received. He was shipwrecked on the Irish coast, lost some of his manuscripts, spent the winter of 1780–81 in Ireland, and the next spring reached London, and offered a third part of his trunk-full of English essays and letters to Davies (T and L) the booksellers in the Strand, who paid 30 guineas for what was printed in 1782, after correcting the English, as the "Letters of an American Farmer." He reached his father's chateau of Pierpont, which now forms part of a Commune named Lanthueil, near Caen. He had been there but few days, when he went to the seashore one morning, and there found five Massachusetts naval officers, just landed from the English Channel, and an English prison, with very little clothing or food, and without one word of French. St. John interpreted for them, took them to dine at his father's chateau, (where the fatted calf was no doubt killed for these five adopted Prodigal Sons), and they were then provided with furnished lodgings, in the town of Caen. Dr. Franklin at Paris was duly notified, and asked to send them back to Massachusetts in the first returning vessel,—which he did. This at once brought St. John into the vast correspondence of Franklin, and afterwards of Jefferson, his successor in the French Mission.

The names of the five seamen taken in charge by St. John, and commended to Franklin, were George Little of Newburyport, Samuel Wales, Clement Lemon, Alexander Storey and Isaac Collins. Little seems to have been a kinsman of Gustavus Fellowes, a prosperous mariner-merchant of Boston. They were sent to Newburyport by Dr. Franklin, who was puzzled to find that his friend, the famous Mme. Houdetot, spoke of their patron as 'Crevecoeur', while he signed himself St. John. He explained himself thus;

"Yes Sir, I am the same person; the reason of the mistake proceeds from the singularity of the French customs, which render their names almost arbitrary, and lead them to forget their family ones. It is in consequence of this that there are more *alias dictumss* in this, than in any other country in Europe. I am so great a stranger to the manners of this, though my

native country,—having quitted it very young,—that I never dreamed I had any other than the old family name of St. John. I was greatly astonished when, at my late return, I saw myself under the necessity of being called by that of Crevecoeur."

Madame d'Houdetot agrees with her friend the Marquis, and with his son, that the youth left France in 1754; she adds that she has always heard his father speak well of him,—which may have been out of politeness or a sense of duty. He afterwards formally consented to his son's marriage with a Protestant.*

By this time, say January 1785, when he was just 50 years old, St. John de Crevecoeur, had passed through the good and evil of civilized and savage life quite thoroughly. Like poor Thekla in Schiller's drama, which was contemporary with the stress of St. John's career, among soldiers at war, navigators, farmers, merchants, Dukes, Princesses and red Indians, monks and Quakers, this Norman gentleman-farmer and philantropical lover of wild nature, could have sung,—for he doubtless was musical as well as artistic,

Du Heilige, Rufe dein Kind zurueck!
Ich habe genossen das irdische Gluck,
Ich habe gelebt und geliebet.

But he had still to go through thirty years of the wild weather of the French Revolution,—that "general upset,"—and the Napoleonic glories and downfalls,—dying at last in 1813 just after the awful Russian disaster, the retreat from Moscow, had almost deprived him of his son Louis', who had begun life riding on his father's plow-beam, not far from the banks of the

*There is every reason to believe that St. John,—the only name by which he was then known,—visited Nantucket and Boston before his marriage in 1769, and his settlement as a farmer at Blooming-Grove in Orange County. He long afterwards came to Boston in 1784, in search of his two children, Fanny and Louis, who had been brought to Boston from Westchester, N.Y. and adopted by the generous Boston sea-captain, Gustavus Fellowes. They were educated in Boston for several years: but afterwards went with their father to France, where the family lived and died,—the descendents of Louis still living in Paris. Ten years ago, in the proceedings of the Historical Society, I gave an account of this romantic incident in the life of these children,—one of whom, Fanny St. John had already been the heroine of a little book by Miss Emily Deledernier, a grandaughter of Captain Fellowes. This book, published in 1874, is now in demand, but is out of print.

Hudson. He remained in his interesting consulate,—sometimes at New York, and then at Paris, until 1792,—when the Reign of Terror carried to the guillotine, or banished from France, many of his good friends, and put his own life in danger. He was preserved by the influence of his son-in-law Otto, who became a favorite of Napoleon for a time, as he had been of Talleyrand; but sometimes St. John had to join his son Ally, at Hamburg,—and when Otto was minister resident at Munich in Bavaria, St. John went there to reside for three years. This brought him into close acquaintance with a native American scientific man, second only to Franklin in the practical applications of Science,—Count Rumford, who in early life was an apothecary's apprentice in Salem. Young Ben Thompson had become a Count of the Holy Roman Empire, and had also grappled with the problems of poverty and vice in the capital of Bavaria, with much success for the time being. Like St. John, he had been an American loyalist, but might easily have been persuaded to be a patriot, as St. John became, after 1780; and to him, while St. John had been consul at New York, President Washington had offered the first headship of our military school at West Point, which Rumford declined. His New Hampshire wife, the first Countess Rumford, had died in the New Hampshire Concord, and he had made an unhappy (wealthy) second marriage with Lavoisier's widow in Paris.

Otto, who in 1790 married St. John's daughter, Fanny, was of nearly twice her age, and was a German, from Baden, but a French citizen. He was born in 1754, the exact age of Henry Thoreau's grandfather John, whose vernacular was also French of the Channel Islands, and who became a Bostonian before our Revolution. Otto was sent to the French legation in Philadelphia during the French alliance, when Luzerne was minister resident; and in New York he took the place of Luzerne during that nobleman's absence, and lived in much splendor there, in Washington's presidency. He had first married Elizabeth Livingston, in March, 1787, who died in the following December. During the summer of that year, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, a Massachusetts savant, concerned in the settlement of southern Ohio, called at his legation in Queen Street, New York, and thus described him;

"He received us very politely, and was exceedingly sociable; he speaks good English, and has a truly philosophic mind. Although he is not the minister plenipotentiary (for there is none at present from France) he acts as such, and lives in the style of a nobleman."

Otto married Fanny St. John, April 13, 1790, at St. Peter's church; among others at the wedding were Jefferson, then Secretary of State, who had met St. John in France, Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut, Congressman Wadsworth from Hartford, his old friend Seton, Judge Richard Morris of New York, and quite likely, Lady Temple of Plymouth, a daughter of Col. George Watson, who had known Fanny when she was a schoolgirl in Boston. She is described as very charming at the age of 18, when she was visiting Col. Wadsworth's family in Hartford, where General Knox called for her in his family coach, and escorted her to her father's in New York. He wrote, (Nov. 16, 1788):

"Mrs. Knox writes to me that it is Mr. St. John's desire I should escort his daughter, Miss St. John, from Hartford to New York. This I shall do with pleasure, if it is convenient to her; as Mr. James Jarvis, his lady, my daughter, Miss Moore, and myself go on in a large coach, which will carry six persons."

A little later in the former season of 1781-82, this same young lady, at then aged 12, drove in a sleigh through Hartford to Boston, under the escort of Captain Fellowes, escaping thus from poverty and cold in Westchester, N. Y. to warmth and wealth in the house of a Boston merchant. Fanny remembered that journey, better, I dare say, than the drive with Gen. Knox and his daughter, six years later; for she told her father in 1784;

"I got into the strange man's sleigh with the greatest eagerness, for I thought it would take me away from the place where I had lost my mother, and had suffered so many things. O Father! you don't know how good and warm those clothes were which the good man, whom God sent to us, brought with him. I hugged myself with joy when I had put them on. You yourself could not have been kinder than this blessed man was, in our whole journey. When we had a big river to cross on the ice, which he

knew gave me a great fright, he always told us a pretty story, to take our minds off and shorten the time. When we got to Hartford, some of his friends there asked him, "what have you got in your sleigh?" "Two lost children" he said,—"I lost them somehow, and have just got 'em back. I am taking them to Boston, where my wife will soon make them disremember all they had to bear. We have seven children there now, and these little stray lambs will make the count nine."

"That's just what he said."

The accounts of Mademoiselle de Crevecoeur, by those who saw her, were very flattering, and recall the description the Marquis gave of his truant son in 1772. The Fellowes family, who long corresponded with her, said:

"She had a high forehead, crowned by a mass of rich auburn hair; eyes of a blue so dark that they seemed almost black, and eyebrows darker than her hair. Also a fine straight nose, a mouth not too small for expression, teeth even and white, and a full Norman shape. Her distinguished manners, with a mind of a high order, made her universally attractive."

Her miniature was made in Boston and exchanged for one of Miss Fellows, her foster-sister, who went back with Fanny and her father to New York in 1785; but the two girls continued to live together in Boston during the father's absence in France in 1786–7. Fanny's letters, says her romancing biographer, "were of the most delightful character, containing, as late as 1810, accounts of court life in Vienna, and touching on important European topics, often accompanied with beautiful gifts." She also ascribes to Fanny a girlish love affair in Boston, with one of her teachers, of which we hear nothing elsewhere.

During St. John's life in Munich, early in Napoleon's reign as emperor, he made good use of his three Bavarian years, to make other acquaintances than Count Rumford, from the Prince, Maximilian, to the artists and husbandmen; and he there collected engravings and wrote manuscripts, many of which seem to be now in the possession of Henri Cluzant of Cabezac in the Gironde, who wishes to sell them in America. They will be shown in Bordeaux, at the American Consulate, to any American wishing to purchase them.

Two incidents in St. John's earlier and later American life were interestingly described by him, but are not generally known,—his winter among the Christian Mohawk Indians near Oswegatchie, on the St. Lawrence, about 1763, and his visit to Niagara in the summer of 1784.

This adventure with the Indians, like several other interesting incidents in his adventurous early life, is not easily dated; but it was after he had first visited Quebec and Montreal, and before he had seen much of Vermont, which he seems to have first visited in 1764. We may therefore fix it, until better informed, in the winter of 1763-64, after the English conquest of Canada, and about the time of the Conspiracy of Pontiac. St. John was crossing the St. Lawrence, or more likely going down its broad waters to Montreal, when, in the Lachine Rapids, his canoe was overset, his weapons and provisions were lost, and it was with some difficulty that he and his Indain guide and companions escaped drowning. They came to land on the New York shore, and found themselves, as winter was coming on, in a dense forest, without food and without the means of making a fire. They decided to seek shelter by going down stream, and, for fear of getting lost in the pathless woods, to keep the great river in sight on their left. They had to subsist on a few fish that they caught with their hands, and must eat raw, and they must protect themselves from the cold at night, and from wild beasts, as best they could. Their fish were almost gone, and their strength well nigh exhausted, when they seemed to see in the sky faint indications of a distant smoke. Moving in that direction, and shouting as loud as their feeble force would allow, they finally heard an answering hail. They were near the Oswegatchie river, and there Sir William Johnson, or some other friend of the Mohawks, had located a camp of the Christian Indians a few years before. One of the tribe met them, gave them welcome, and took them into the camp; feeding them liberally, on game and the corn and potatoes they had that year raised. They invited St. John, the only white man in the party to join their tribe; and the women painted his face, decked his hair with feathers, and put Indian garments upon him. They told him he could not get to Montreal before winter should

set in, and that he had better make his winter-quarters with them; which he did, and says he passed a rude but wholesome and not unpleasant winter there.

His visit to Niagara, which he was one of the first tourists to describe detail, was in the summer of 1784, when he was in the first year of his French Consulate at the City of New York. His long description of the famous Falls was published by Prof. Marshall of Buffalo, in the New York Magazine of History in 1847, and may be compared with the much shorter description of Niagara by Thoreau, as he first saw this wonder of the world when he was on his way to Minnesota, in the spring of 1861. St. John's description is much more in detail, and is one of the fullest that has been made by a good observer, up to the year 1784.

How well St. John understood the Colonies to which he had emigrated, and in which he travelled, traded and farmed for alternate years, may be seen from a short dramatic essay of his on "The Founding of Socialborough," which he located in the Mohawk River region of New York, not very far from Albany, some time about 1759. He introduces a German, a Frenchman, an Englishman, a Scot, and an Irishman, who each tells his story of migration, with the reasons for it. The Frenchman may be said to give what may have been a common chronicle of Huguenot experience and adventure, in some of the provinces of France, in the 18th Century,—perhaps at the earlier migration of the Tippet family, whom he found in Ulster or Orange County.

The Frenchman's Story at Albany.

"It is a crime in France, now for these many years, not to profess the national religion. Sometimes the indulgence of the King, the piety of the parish priest, or the progress of common sense, protects us from the fury of intolerance; otherwise the sword of the law hangs over our heads. My father, after passing several years of his youth in Ireland, returned to France, where he married, and set up a considerable manufacture of woolens, by the use of the fine wools of Ireland. He turned over to us, some seven years ago, the whole of that business, and devoted himself to the fertiliza

tion of some poor and arid lands he had bought. This miracle of industry he effected by digging wells from which he drew the water that fertilized his soil. The trees he had planted were just beginning to attract coolness by their shade, and to give a start to verdure. We obeyed the laws, and Heaven seemed to smile on our toil. In the meantime we had heard that several faraway regions, inhabited by our brethren, had since 1743, I know not why, become victims of a severe persecution. Suddenly that storm drew near our region; and almost two years ago we were on the point of seeing our wives and children taken from us and put into convents. We chose to abandon everything, sooner than suffer so great a misery. To do this we converted a part of our merchandise into bills of exchange, and, August 17 of this year, we abandoned our farms, houses and shops, and reached the port of X. where we were lucky enough to find a vessel ready to make sail for Dublin. My poor mother could not survive the sorrows and regrets of so great a sacrifice; and my father seemed ready to follow her to the tomb.

Hardly were we landed, however, when the kind hospitality of the Irish provided for our most pressing needs. Several of the first citizens of Dublin came forward to encourage us, and offered us a second fatherland. Instead of runaway foreigners, we were surrounded in a few days by Irish descendants of French Protestants, formerly driven out of France like ourselves, and for the same cause; but my father, enfeebled in health, often sighed for the sunshine of our province, and the asylum he had prepared for his old age. At last, by the aid of our new friends, we acquired in the vicinity of Waterford the lease for 66 years of a considerable estate. As for me, I offered to go to Placentia in Newfoundland, where I had mercantile connections . My father approved my plan, gave me his blessing, and 687 guineas as my share of the remains of our fortune.

Hardly had I set foot on shore at Newfoundland when I perceived how little to my taste were the eternal fogs, and the chill climate of my new abode; with its tumult of waves and winds, and its disgusting preparation of salting the codfish. I was sighing for another place when they brought me word of a New York vessel just arrived, with a load of fruit and provisions.

Surprised was I at going on board, to see there, an assemblage of the finest gifts of Pomona and Ceres.

"Are all these goods" said I to the captain, "so very abundant in the land you come from?"

"Yes" said he, "as you may see by the price we paid for them to the producers,"—showing me the bill of sale.

"It is a goodly country then!" continued I.

"It is so in general; but there, as elsewhere, are regions more fertile and less so." "And how how are foreigners welcomed there?"

"Extremely well; it is everybody's country, and by that means it grows in population every day; though we now have a stock of people which would double its number every 20 years. But a foreigner ought to bring with him a knowledge of English, and that of a trade or profession; or else money enough to buy a farm and the cattle needful for working it. If he has only his hands, then he will work at the hire of others, either among the farmers, or the mechanics of the towns, or in the workshops, and he will soon find that his labor is much better paid than in Europe, and that he will here be paid and fed as an equal and comrade of those who hire him."

"But a Frenchman like me, would they take me in during this unlucky war in Canada?"

"Why not? do you not speak our language? do you not come from Ireland and Newfoundland? And when they find out that you were persecuted in your own country, they will sympathize with you all the more. You will find in New York and Philadelphia, and in New Jersey, a great number of the children and grandchildren of your old fellow-countrymen, who come over here to settle during the religious wars and troubles in your country."

"What is the common price of land there?"

"Their value depends on their fertility, on the population of the country, the nearness of a navigable river, the vicinity of a town, or the goodness of the farm-buildings and orchards that are found on the estates to be

sold. The price of woodlands depends on their goodness, the proximity to old settlements, markets, navigable rivers, etc. I think you can buy farms in New Jersey, all cleared and with the buildings, for from £.5 to £.20 an acre. One of my neighbors the other day bought a charming place of 57 acres, with a very decent house and barn, seven acres of field, and an orchard of an acre for £.500."

"My dear Captain, your information gives me the greatest pleasure. Two more things I have to ask of you,—a passage to New York on your vessel, and your good advice when I get there."

"With all my heart; but I am more seaman than farmer; my wife manages our farm, near Elizabethtown; when you are under our roof, she will tel you all she knows."

"By the advice of this kind and industrious American wife, I travelled in Maryland, Virginia and a part of Pennsylvania. What a lovely country! and I knew not that it existed! Everywhere I found hospitality and good advice; everywhere men well-informed, according to their rank; everywhere nearness, decency, and a singular perfection in utility, whether carriages, public or private, mills, plow-lands. implements, furniture, house-building, etc. What good fortune that I had learned the language of the country! what should I have done without it? That key opens all doors and all hearts. I have heard so much about the advantages of the region between Oneida Lake, the head waters of the Susquehanna and the Mohawk River,—so many praises of the goodness of the soil, the wholesome climate, etc. that I mean to see and traverse that fine country before I settle down. I expect to go to Albany, Schoharie, Cherry Valley and German Flats, and beyond them to Lakes Canaserago and Otsego. Out of these, as from two basins hollowed out by the Creator's hand, flow forth, without falls or cascades, the two chief branches of the beautiful Susquehannah. What a desirable channel of communication for the future farmers of that vast region, when from these two lakes, without interruption, they can sail to the seashore near Baltimore,—a distance of 120 leagues! I am waiting here, like you, gentlemen, 'till the return of spring."

St. John afterwards speaks of having lost while in prison at New York his notes on Maryland and Virginia, where he probably travelled as a merchant while living in Pennsylvania. His sea-captain, living on a farm near Elizabeth, may have been near Westfield, where I am spending the winter of 1916–17, and correcting these proofs.

Restudying here the conflicting data furnished by his several biographers, including the Hue-and-cry of his father in 1772 for his wayward and truant only son. I have been constructing a new theory, somewhat different from that put forth in my paper at Boston in November, but containing the elements of that. There is some question how the French dates given by the Marquis are to be read; the choice depending on the different usages of the word '*depuis*'; but as I now read them, the youth was' expatriated' from France in 1754, and 'reclaimed' to England by the Misses Mutet of Salisbury, where he lived between ten and eleven years. The Marquis said, "Il habite l'Angleterre depuis dix a onze annees," adding, "He lived in Philadelphia eight or nine years up to 1767." But from 1754 to 1772, is only 18 years,—not time enough for all these calculations; so that the Marquis may have intended to say, "He was living in England ten or eleven years ago," which would hold him in England, coming and going, till 1760–61, and not allow him to be permanently in America before 1763. Now St. John himself told Lacretelle, who sketched his life in 1783, "After having lived successively in several European countries, I ended by establishing myself in Pennsylvania." His descendants have a tradition that he visited Lisbon after the great earthquake in 1755, and a letter of his they quoted to the effect that "he made a visit to Quebec at the age of 20,—" (some time before January 1756)" and was there usefully and agreeably employed in drawing large maps of the country, and enjoying a certain degree of consideration and importance which his own talents had procured for him."

In this confusion of dates and places, let us construct a theory of the missing years of the stripling and truant St. John. He went, we will say, to England in 1754, on a visit; and he never saw his father again till August, 1781,—27 years. This we know from his own and his father's express

statement. Let us suppose that he ran away from England to Holland, and began a mercantile life, which took him to Lisbon in 1754–5; that he then sailed for Canada, and began there his long career of land-surveying and map-drawing; that he even travelled then among the Indians, and enlisted as an engineer in Montcalm's army,—remaining there till 1757, the year of the Indian massacre by Lake George; that he was then captured by the British army, and "reclaimed" by his English Huguenot friends at Salisbury, in (1758), and sent over to Philadelphia. This would allow him eight years between 1758 and 1767, when his father last heard from him. He would then have time to describe Philadelphia, as he did, and Shippensburg, Nantucket, S. Carolina and Bermuda, either before or after he was naturalized as a subject of the royal Province of New York, in 1766, when he lived in Ulster County, and was a "Gentleman," and was wooing Mehetable Tippet, whom he married in 1769, (Sept. 16). There is authority for all this, without much altering his father's dates, but correcting those of the very inaccurate son.

I have long been advising American novelists to make St. John the subject of a series of novels. He would hold out for at least three, and might answer for six; and his 68 years of a wandering life would supply periods and localities quite beyond the scope of most novels.

WITCHCRAFT NOT EXTINCT

ALBERT WOODBURY DENNIS

Witchcraft is usually thought of as one of the delusions of ages long past. Yet every now and then we are reminded by the chronicle of events in the newspapers that belief in it still exists in many parts of the world, and also in out-of-the-way places in the United States.

It was only last June that the *Boston Herald* printed the following editorial comment on a case in Pennsylvania.

"A few days ago a man in Pennsylvania set fire to a tenement house owned by him, purposing that way to destroy a black cat. This cat he believes cast a spell on him and in consequence his barn was burned three years ago and numerous deaths occurred in his family. When the man was arrested for arson, a revolver loaded with a silver bullet was taken from him. He said that lead bullets passed through the cat without harming it. His niece also declared that the cat had bewitched her.

Uncle and niece are not Hungarians or Bohemians who brought with them the superstitions of their villages. They are Americans with common English names. The man is evidently a man of property. Yet he believes in mischief working spells and charms against them. To kill a malignant, demoniacal cat he is willing to burn a house down as lightly as the Chinaman in Charles Lamb's essay burned his house that he might have roast pig; to kill the cat, the Pennsylvanian moulds silver bullets.

Every now and then a story is told in the newspapers showing that belief in witchcraft is by no means extinct. Every day men may be seen going around a ladder on a sidewalk, instead of going under it. One of Chicago's greatest hotels, which numbers its rooms on each letter-named floor, has no thirteen anywhere.

Superstitions die hard. Magic, if learned folk-lorists are to be trusted, preceded religion. Old magic rites found their way into religions. Strange beliefs still survive even among pyrrhonists and agnostics. Inconsistencies prove nothing to them. Why, for instance, should the appearance of a black cat, especially a stray one, be welcomed in a theatre as an omen of good luck, and a black cat near Pottsville, Pa., be regarded as in league with Satan?

The Salem Evening News published a paragraph in "The Man About Town" column, about two years ago, which referred to a court case at Turkey Run, Pennsylvania.

The plaintiff in the case, Mrs. Short, accused one Mrs. Zemanowski of assaulting her, and scratching her cheeks till blood came, whereupon the defendant explained that she was forced to draw the old woman's blood in order to break a spell which had been cast over Mrs. Zemanowski by the woman, whom the defendant declared to be a witch.

It seems that Mrs. Zemanowski's voice had started to fail her not long after she had accepted a drink of whiskey from Mrs. Short, and Mrs. Zemanowski became convinced that she was bewitched by the draft, and hence the strange defence pleaded.

It is only within a twelve month since a full page sensational article appeared in the Sunday papers, headed "A Modern Witch," which related that a few days before Mrs. Sadie S. Darling, of Newark, N. J., was arrested under the statute covering witchcraft—that is, she was virtually accused of being a witch.

Mrs. Darling, who is a medium and pastor of the First Progressive Spiritual Church, No. 57 Halsey street, Newark, when arrested under the Witchcraft Law for "pretending to exercise or use conjuration, occult and crafty science" to mislead or defraud ignorant persons, said:

"If I am a witch why don't they hang or burn me as they did in the old days? They are threatening to fine me $50. Am I a witch? Do people continue to believe in witchcraft? Our laws seem to show that they do."

Mrs. Darling herself did not consider herself a witch by any means, but only a medium, having remarkable psychic power.

A new edition of Winfield S. Nevins' standard work on "Witchcraft in Salem Village," published this year, discribes in a lengthy preface various instances of witchcraft trials in different parts of the world in recent years, and discusses very interestingly the petty superstitions of today. He says:

Witchcraft is not yet dead. Fourteen persons were indicted for witchcraft in Havana, Cuba, in 1905, and brought to trial on March 10 of that year. For seven of them the public prosecutor asked the penalty of death. Several were convicted and two were sentenced to death and executed. Others were sentenced to less severe punishment. A witch doctor in the country had written to another of the profession stating that in order to effect a cure of a certain colored woman he must have the heart's blood of a white child, that the illness, or affliction of the patient was the result of ill inflicted by white persons in the old slavery days, and could only be cured by the warm life blood of a white person. The child was procured in the person of a twenty-months old babe named Zoila, who was stolen from her parents. Her body, when found, had been dismembered and thrown into a thicket. The sick woman had used upon her abdomen a poultice made of the heart's blood of the child, and taken internally a decoction brewed with the heart itself.

Belief in witchcraft is quite prevalent in the rural districts of Great Britain, according to the *London Daily Mail* in 1903. Some years ago two young farmers in Cornwall were charged with threatening to murder an elderly woman, a neighbor, whom they accused of having "ill-wished" their horses so that they refused to pull their loads and started kicking. One of the defendants swore that the old woman had "cast an evil spell" over the animal. Another case: in a Highland village the ill health of a minister was attributed to a stream which passed his house having been bewitched by certain parishioners who had had a serious disagreement with him over certain theological views expressed in a sermon. Other instances of "witchcraft" were reported in the British press a few year ago.

In 1911 a woman was tried on charge of killing another, in Ireland, an old-age pensioner, in a fit of insanity. One witness testified to meeting the accused woman on the road the morining of the murder. She had a statue in her hand, and repeated three times: "I have the old witch killed. I got power from the Blessed Virgin, to kill her. She came to me at 3 o'clock

yesterday and told me to kill her or I would be plagued with rats and mice." Then the accused woman herself told about the rat that came into her house, and since then she had been annoyed and upset in her mind. A lady came while she was lying in bed and she was all dressed in white with a wreath on her head and said, "I was in danger. I thought she was referring to the rat coming into the house." And so the testimony continued. And this in 1911, not 1611 nor 1711.

What license have we of today to condemn the belief in witchcraft by our ancestors two centuries ago? Have we not a few defects of our own, a few superstitions as ridiculous as those of the aforesaid ancestors? How many of us would sit down at table in a group of thirteen? How often do we hear a friend make a boast of any good fortune without "knocking on wood"? Who of us but seeks to see the new moon over the right shoulder? What about killing the first snake we see each spring in order that we may surely kill all the others of the season? Why do steamship companies always number rooms "12A" or "11A" according as the room may be on the odd or even side, and never a "13"? Why do we find a room 13 in a hotel rarely or never? How many persons walking down street will pass under the ladder that workmen have leaned against a building? Then there is the horse-shoe superstition which leads so many to pick up and treasure every horse-shoe seen on the street. This notwithstanding Nelson was killed under a horse-shoe. Possibly it may be said that that horse-shoe brought him good luck for he won the battle and was immortalized, and has more and greater monuments than almost any other Englishman who ever lived. There is the superstition of the prayer chain which must not be broken, and the belief that pictures of birds in a room will bring evil because the birds will fly away with our luck. There are many other equally absurd "beliefs," all of them superstitions, as much as was the belief in witchcraft in 1692. The redeeming quality of the present age is that it sees no great harm in one or all of these "beliefs." We make no complaints, and the believers are not arrested, nor tried, nor executed, save on the gibbet of raillery.

Witchcraft, superstition, or idolatry, prevails generally in India today. Mrs. Frank Penny who has spent most of her time in that far Eastern country, stated to a recent writer that the natives always invoke evil spirits, and their belief in them is very strong indeed. In every village in South India there is a shrine built in honor of some deity, whose duty it is to ward off these evil spirits, the whole life of the native being one long dread of them and

their works. Mrs. Penny has described some of these things in her various books of fiction. Like the witch doctors of Cuba, the magician of India has to have blood to propitiate the devil, and in olden days human blood alone was sufficient unto the evil thereof. But the British government has done its best to make the Devil understand that he must be content with the blood of goats and cocks. The methods of use and the ceremonies connected therewith are much like those described in the trial in Havana.

[This is the 23rd (second part) of a series of monographs on the Regiments from Massachusetts in the War of the American Revolution, which are appearing in *The Massachusetts Magazine*.]

COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S REGIMENT

COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S 19TH REGIMENT, PROVINCIAL ARMY, APRIL—JULY, 1775.
COLONEL JONATHAN BREWER'S 6TH REGIMENT, ARMY UNITED COLONIES, JULY—DECEMBER 1775.

BY FRANK A. GARDNER, M. D.

(Continued from No. 3, Vol. IX.)

ADJUTANT JOHN BUTLER of Peterborough (N. H.?). He was the son of John and Elizabeth (How) Butler, and was born in Hopkinton, March 28, 1729. He served as corporal in Captain J. Catlin's Scouts in 1749 and incurred the ill will of the Indians, who came to Framingham for his scalp, but he escaped. From April 23rd to November 21, 1754 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain John Johnson's Framingham Company, Colonel Winslow's Regiment. April 22, 1757, he was Lieutenant in Captain Henry Emm's Company. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Adjutant in Colonel John Brewer's Regiment. In the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775, while serving as Adjutant in this regiment he was wounded in the arm. A roll dated camp at Prospect Hill, showed service as Adjutant of this regiment for three months, and fourteen days from April 24, 1775. He died March 20, 1795.

QUARTERMASTER CHARLES DOUGHTERTY of Framingham, was a resident of that town as early as 1765. He went to Brookfield the

following year but in 1769 returned to Framingham. Temple in his History of Framingham states that he was a Minute Man on April 19, 1775. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Joseph Stebbin's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment. His name appears as Quartermaster of this Regiment in a list of Field and Staff officers dated August 26, 1775. In a list made up, probably in October, 1775, his rank is given as Second Lieutenant of that Company. January 1, 1776, he became Ensign in Captain William Hudson Ballard's' Company in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army, and was promoted to Second Lieutenant, October 1st of that year. According to a muster roll dated Camp at Saratoga, November 27th of that year, he was reported as acting Quartermaster in that Regiment. He was reported re-engaged November 13, 1776, to serve as First Lieutenant, to serve in Captain Brewer's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment , but he was to continue in Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment until December 31, 1776. January 1, 1777, he became First Lieutenant in "Colonel Ebenezer Sprout's" 12th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, as shown by the Continental pay accounts from that date to January 28, 1778. He was reported "resigned" on the latter date. A company return dated "Camp Valley Forge, January 23, 1778" gives his name in connection with Captain Brewer's Company, Colonel Brewer's Regiment, and the following note was appended: "Reported discharged by the General January 9, 1778."

SURGEON DAVID TOWNSEND of Boston, son of Shippie and Ann (Kettle) Townsend, was born in Boston January 7, 1753. He graduated at Harvard in 1770. May 6, 1775, he entered service in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment as Surgeon. In a list of officers recommended in Council, September 27, 1775, to General Washington for commissions, we find his name as Surgeon of this Regiment with a note that said officers "were appointed but not commissioned by Congress owing to the confusion that took place after June 17, 1775." January 1, 1776 he was appointed Surgeon in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army and he served

through the year. He became Hospital Physician and Surgeon in the Medical Department January 1, 1777 and served at least until December 30, 1780, and according to Heitman, until the close of the War. He died April 13, 1829.

SURGEON'S MATE HARRIS ELLERY FUGER of Lancaster was engaged as Surgeon's Mate in this Regiment, June 15, 1775. His name appears in a list of "Surgeon's and Surgeon's Mates examined and approved by a Committee of Watertown, July 5, 1775." September 27 1775 recommendation was made by the Council to General Washington that he be commissioned. Another list stated that he was Surgeon's Mate to Dr. Carver at a Watertown Hospital. No date given. November 15, 1777 he was engaged as Surgeon of the State Brigantine "Massachusetts" commanded by Captain John Lambert, and a roll made up for advance wages for one month was sworn to June 27, 1778.

CAPTAIN JOHN BLACK of Hutchinson (Barre) (Rutland District) was a private in Captain James Caldweld's Company, Colonel "Rudgel's" (Ruggles's) Regiment, which marched for the relief of Fort William Henry in August 1757. The service is described as a march of 240 miles, 18 days, from "Rutland District to Canterhook." He enlisted April 20, 1775 in that rank in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and served through the year. A certificate dated Hutchinson, April 28, 1776, signed by said Black, stated that several men in his company lost articles at Bunker Hill June 17, 1775. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Nathan Sparhawk's 7th Worcester County Regiment. A man of this name was living in Barre in 1790, according to a census return of that date.

CAPTAIN EDWARD BLAKE of Taunton (also given Boston) was the son of Captain Edward Blake of Boston, who had a long and distinguished record in the French and Indian War. Edward Blake Junior, the subject of this sketch served in his father's Company from June 22nd to December 27th in 1761. He was Ensign in Captain John Haskin's Com-

pany, Colonel John Irving's Regiment in 1771. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Second Lieutenant in Captain Robert Crossman's Company, Colonel Nathaniel Leonard's Regiment. April 25, 1775 he enlisted as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and served through the year. April 5, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel George Williams's 3rd Bristol County Regiment. In December of that year he marched with his regiment to Warren, R. I., on an alarm, serving twenty-five days. He marched on other alarms to Rhode Island in September—October and December, 1777. He served again in command of a company in Colonel Thomas Carpenter's 1st Bristol County Regiment in July-August, 1780. August 2, 1780 he commanded a Company in Colonel Abial Mitchell's 3rd Worcester County Regiment, the regiment commanded at that time by Lieutenant Colonel James Williams and served eight days in Brigadier General Godfrey's Brigade.

CAPTAIN BENJAMIN BULLARD of Sherborn, son of Captain Benjamin and Marion (Morse) Bullard, was born in that town June 30, 1741. From March 24th to November 22, 1759 he was a private in Captain William Jones's Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 29, 1775 he commanded a Company of Minute Men in Colonel Abijah Peirce's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and served through the year. January 1, 1776 he became Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army, and was reported as resigned September 30, 1776. June 12, 1777 he was commissioned as Captain of the 9th (Sherborn) Company in Colonel Samuel Bullard's 5th Middlesex County Regiment.

CAPTAIN ISAAC GRAY of Pelham served as a Sergeant in Captain Roger Southbridge's Company, Colonel Israel Williams's Regiment on a Fort William Henry alarm in 1757. He served as surveyor in Pelham in 1760–1 and selectman in 1762. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Joseph Hooker's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Ruggles Woodbridge's Regiment. May 1, 1775 he

was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and he served through the year. September 23, 1777 he marched as "Captain serving as volunteer" in Captain John Thompson's Company, Colonel Elisha Porter s 4th Hampshire County Regiment, serving twelve days. He was probably the man of that name who served from July 10th to August 7, 1777 in Lieutenant James Halbert's Company, Colonel Elisha Porter's Regiment; the roll dated at Pelham.

CAPTAIN MOSES HARVEY of Montague, son of Samuel and Esther (Warner) Harvey was born in Sunderland, July 20, 1723. August 4, 1747 his name appears as a private in scouting service in an account rendered by William Williams's scouts hired by Governor Shirley to go up Black River. From June 2nd until December 1748, he was a centinel in Captain William Williams's Company. He was a member of the Montague Committee of Correspondence in 1773. May 12, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and served in that organization through the year. May 7, 1776 his commission was ordered as Captain of the 5th (Montague) Company, in Colonel Phineas Wright's 6th Hampshire County Regiment. From May 10th to July 10, 1777 he was a Captain in Colonel David Well's Regiment in the Northern Department. He was engaged as Captain in Colonel Benjamin Ruggles Woodbridge's Regiment August 14, 1777, and served with the Northern Army at and about Saratoga until November 29, 1777.

CAPTAIN AARON HAYNES of Sudbury held that rank as commander of the 2nd Sudbury Company in Colonel Elisha Jones's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment in 1771. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Captain of a Company to Cambridge, via Concord. April 29, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Company and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment in the Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 13th Regiment,

Massachusetts Line, and he served in that rank under Colonel Wigglesworth, and his successor, Lieutenant Colonel Calvin Smith, until April 7, 1779 when he was made a supernumerary, and was retired the following day.

CAPTAIN THADDEUS RUSSELL of Sudbury, son of Samuel and Sarah (Bryant) Russell, was born in that town, August 2, 1739. April 25, 1757 his name appears as a member of Captain Moses Maynard's 1st Sudbury Company. March 23, 1759, at the age of 19 he enlisted in Colonel Elisha Jones's Regiment. April 2 of that year he was in Major Joseph Curtis's First Foot Company. From January 1st to May 14, 1760 he was a private in Captain Daniel Fletcher's Company, Colonel Frye's Regiment at Nova Scotia. As a resident of Sudbury he was a private in Captain James Gray's Company from March 22, to November 20, 1762 He was Lieutenant in Captain Nathaniel Cudworth's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775. He was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, April 24, 1775 and served through the year.

CAPTAIN SIMON STEVENS was the son of Captain Phineas Stevens. He was an Ensign in General Shirley's Provincial Regiment, which was sent to Nova Scotia in 1755, and in 1758 was made Lieutenant of a company of rangers under Lord Loudon, serving until 1760. He was then made Captain of a company, receiving his commission from General Amherst. He served until peace was declared. The return of Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment dated May 18, 1775, Captain Simon Stevens is reported as recruiting, not joined. In a "Recommendation addressed to His Excellency General Washington, November 4, 1775, signed by James Otis, on behalf of the Council" he was recommended with two others for "any vacancies that might occur in the Continental Army as they had served continuous wirh the forces of Massachusetts Bay from 1755 to the time of the reduction of Canada, and being desirous of entering the service of the United Colonies."

CAPTAIN LEMUEL TRESCOTT of Boston was born in 1751. He served his time with Hopestill Capin, a carpenter in Boston, and served as orderly Sergeant in Captain Joseph Peirce's Company of Boston "Grenadiers." He assisted Lieutenant Henry (afterward General) Knox in bringing this company to a high state of efficiency. May 10, 1775 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and served through the year. During 1776 he was a Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment in the Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel David Henley's Regiment in the Continental Army, and he held that rank until May 20, 1778 when he was promoted to the rank of Major in Colonel Henry Jackson's Regiment. On the 3rd of October, 1781, with 100 men he crossed the Sounds of Long Island, surprised Fort Slongo and brought over his garrison with a quantity of arms, ammunition, clothing, etc. He commanded a battalion of Light Infantry under Lafayette. In a return dated Camp New Windsor, December 28, 1782 and one January 20, 1783, his name appears as Major-Commandant of Lieutenant Colonel John Brooks's 7th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He was appointed Major in the Second United States Infantry, March 4, 1791, and resigned December 28th of that year. April 9, 1812 he was appointed Colonel of Infantry, but he declined. He served as Collector of United States Revenue for Machias 1808-11, and Passamaquoddy, Maine, 1812-18. He died in Lubec, Maine, August 10, 1826. He had "the reputation of an excellant disciplinarian and an active and vigilant officer." Drake describes him as "an upright, humane and patriotic man." He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati.

CAPTAIN DANIEL WHITING of Dedham was the son of Jonathan and Anna (Bullard) Whiting. He was born in Dedham, February 5, 1732-3. From September 15th to December 16, 1755 he was a private in Captain William Bacon's Company. He served in Captain Joseph Richard's Company of Dedham in December 1759. From February 26th to

December 6, 1760 he was an Ensign in Captain Nathaniel Bailey's Dedham Company. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he served as First Lieutenant in Captain Ebenezer Battle's 4th Parish Company of Dedham. April 24, 1775, he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and he served through the year. During 1776 he was Captain in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, in the Continental Army. He was reported November 6, 1776 "reengaged and promoted to Major" in Colonel Ichabod Alden's 7th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, "but to continue in Colonel Whitcomb's regt. until Dec. 31. 1776." In the "History of Dover," Mass., it is stated that "on the death of Colonel Alden at Cherry Valley he took command of the forces." September 29, 1778 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in Colonel Thomas Nixon's 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line. He was retired January 1, 1781. He died in Dover, Mass., October 17, 1806, aged 76 years.

(See biographical sketch, Massachusetts Magazine, Vol. III, Page 28).

CAPTAIN JOHN WOODS. This name was given in a return dated May 18, 1775 with the following note: "Recruiting and not joined." No further mention is made of him.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ELISHA BREWER of Waltham was the son of Moses and Elizabeth (Davis) Brewer. He was born in Sudbury, June 10, 1754. April 30, 1775 he enlisted as a Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Haynes's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and was commissioned June 17, 1775. He was in the battle of Bunker Hill and was later reimbursed for articles lost in that battle He served through the year in this regiment, and January 1, 1776 became First Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Whiting's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment of the Continental Army. November 13, 1776 he was engaged as Captain in Colonel Samuel Brewer's Regiment, but to continue in Colonel Whitcomb's Regiment, until December 31, 1776. He resigned July 5, 1779, according to Heitman, and died July 23, 1827.

FIRST LIEUTENANT JOHN CLARK of Hadley, was probably the man of this name, son of John and Mary Clark, who was born about 1739. From October 19, 1756 to January 22, 1757 he was a centinel in Captain Israel Williams's Company. He was a member of Captain John Burke's Company from March 10th to November 17, 1757, and was included in the capitualtion of Fort William Henry. He was a member of the same company in 1758 from April 15th to November 30th, and from April 2nd to November 2, 1759 served at the westward, in Captain Salah Barnard's Company in Brigadier General Timothy Ruggles's Regiment. May 10, 1775 he enlisted as Lieutenant in Captain Moses Harvey's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and served through the year. He was recommended by Council September 27, 1775 to be commissioned by General Washington, and a company return (dated probably October 1775) reported "gone to Quebec, Sept. 12." In a Muster roll dated Camp at Ticonderoga, November 27, 1776 he was reported "taken prisoner December 31, 1775 at Quebec;" also reported "on parole in Massachusetts." In a petition sworn to at Hadley, October 9, 1776, signed by said Clark, asking for remuneration for gun, etc., he declared that he marched under Brigadier General Arnold at Quebec, where he was taken prisoner, December 31, 1775. July 10, 1777 he marched as Lieutenant in Captain Moses Kellogg's Company, Colonel Elisha Porter's 4th Hampshire County Regiment and served until August 7, 1777. He marched on another alarm in the same company and regiment, September 23, 1777, and served "32" days, receiving his discharge "Oct. 18, 1777."

FIRST LIEUTENANT NATHANIEL CUSHING of Boston was the son of Elijah Cushing, Junior, and was born in Pembroke, Mass., April 8, 1753. He was a carpenter by trade. May 10, 1775 he was engaged to serve as First Lieutenant in Captain Lemuel Trescott's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he served through the year. January 1, 1776 he became First Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Haynes's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment in the Continental Army,

January 1, 1777 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel John Paterson's 1st Regiment, Massachusetts Line, the regiment later commanded by Colonel Joseph Vose. From December 1, 1781 to April 1782 he served as Brigade Major He was a breveted Major, September 30, 1784. Drake in the "Memorial of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati" states that he was "engaged in many battles and skirmishes and was noted as a most successful partisan officer. In May, 1780 while stationed at the outpost of the so-called 'Needle Grounds' between Cambridge and White Plains, N. Y., he captured a detachment of DeLancey's Corps of Tories, and being pursued by Colonel Simcoe's mounted rangers, repulsed the attack of that officer and reached the post with all his prisoners. For his bravery and skill in this affair he was highly complimented by the Commander in Chief After the war he removed from Boston to Marietta, O., where, soon after his arrival in August 1788, he was commissioned by Governor St. Clare as a Captain and in 1797 Colonel of the 1st Regiment of Militia. He was one of the founders of Belpre Colony in 1789, and died in August 1814."

FIRST LIEUENANT ZEBEDIAH DEWEY of Tyringham was the son of Thomas and Abigail (Williams) Dewey. He was born in Sheffield, October 8, 1727. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Whiting's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he served through the year. He removed to Poultney, Vt. The "Dewey Genealogy" mentions him as follows: "He was a bold, resolute lover of the chase and hunt. In appearance about 5 feet, 10 inches in height, slim but very muscular, small, keen black eyes, dark hair. . . .strong sanguine temperament; good mind, judgment, and sound common sense." The same authority states that he represented Poultney in the Vermont Convention, January 15, 1777, and that he was a Captain of Militia in Poultney and obtained the rank of Major in the Battle of Hubbardston He died in Poultney, Vt., October 28, 1804, aged 77 years.

FIRST LIEUTENANT AARON GARDNER of Sherborn was the son of Addington and Mary (Allen) Gardner. He was born in Brookline,

April 1, 1741. He was Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Bullard's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Peirce's Regiment, which marched on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 April 24, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Bullard's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and served through the year. March 27, 1776 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Samuel Bullard's 5th Middlesex County Regiment. September 25, 1776 he marched as Captain of a company in Colonel Eleazer Brooks's 3rd Middlesex County Regiment to Horse Neck to reinforce the Continental Army and served 62 days. May 1, 1779 he was commissioned First Major in the above named regiment. He was a selectman in Sherborn in 1788.

FIRST LIEUTENANT BENJAMIN GATES of Hutchinson (Barre), was probably the same man who seved as centinel in Captain Jeduthan Baldwin's Company, from September 15th to December 14, 1755 on a Crown Point Expedition; and who was a member of Captain John Frye's Company, Colonel Timothy Ruggles's Regiment from April 4th to May 21, 1758. He was recommended in the Committee of Safety, June 17, 1775, as one of the officers to be commissioned, his rank to be that of Lieutenant in Captain John Black's Company. In a muster roll dated August 1, 1775, it is stated that he was engaged April 20th of that year, which would indicate that he responded to the Lexington alarm, evidently in Captain John Black's Company, although no other commissioned officer than the captain can be found in the rolls of the company preserved in the archives, Vol. 11, Page 227. He served through the year under this officer. April 18, 1776 with a company of ninety-one men he began the march toward New York in Colonel Jonathan Holman's Worcester County Regiment, and he served through the year under that officer. In 1777 he was commissioned Captain in Colonel Rufus Putnam's 5th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, his commission bearing date of January 1st of that year. He served until January 13, 1778 when he resigned. He was in all probability the man of this name who was living with his family in Barre in 1790.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ELIPHELET HASTINGS of Waltham was probably the man of that name who served in a Nova Scotia Expedition in 1755-6 under Captain Phineas Stevens, and who as a resident of Charlestown was a private in Captain Thomas Cheever's Company from March 9 to August 9, 1757 on an expedition to Crown Point. He probably joined this regiment early in June as an order signed on the 23rd of that month called for provisions for fourteen days due said Hastings. June 17, 1775 he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Edward Blake's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment. Another return would seem to indicate that he was for a time in Captain Moses Harvey's Company in the same regiment. July 15, 1775 he was serving as recruiting officer in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment. June 5, 1778 he was commissioned First Lieutenant, his name so appearing in a list of officers of the Middlesex County Militia. May 5, 1779 he began service as Lieutenant in Captain Caleb Morton's Company, Colonel Thomas Poor's Regiment, and was discharged February 24, 1779. During a portion of this time at least he served as Lieutenant-Commandant. August 4, 1780 he was commissioned First Lieutenant and his name appeared in a "list of officers appointed to command men discharged from militia to reinforce the Continental Army for three months, agreeable to a resolve of June 22, 1780." From June 30th to October 30, 1780 he was a Lieutenant in Captain Zachias Wright's Company, Colonel Cyprian How's Regiment. He was living with his family in Waltham in 1790.

FIRST LIEUTNANT NATHANIEL MAYNARD of Sudbury was the son of Moses and Lois (Stone) Maynard. He was born in Sudbury, May 7, 1744. On the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775 he marched as Ensign in Captain Nathaniel Cudworth's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Thaddeus Russell's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he served through the year. July 8, 1776 he was chosen Captain in the 4th (2nd Sudbury) Company, in Colonel Ezekiel Howe's 4th Middlesex County Regiment. According to a return dated

Groton, December 5, 1776, Captain Maynard, with the 4th Company, became part of a Middlesex County Militia Regiment to be commanded by Colonel Samuel Thatcher, and ordered to march to Fairfield, Ct., before Dec. 16, 1776. Later he became Captain of the Second Sudbury Company of Militia, and a letter of his dated Sudbury, September 15, 1778 to Colnel Ezekial How, contained the request that his resignation as Captain be read before the council, on account of ill health, and his resignation was ordered accepted January 7, 1779.

FIRST LIEUTENANT ABRAHAM TUCKERMAN of Providence (also given Boston.) In all probability he saw service in the French War, but the large number of services credited to Boston men bearing this name makes it impossible to distinguish just what records belong to him. April 25, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Edward Blake's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he served through the year. According to one return he appears to have been a Lieutenant in Captain Thaddeus Russell's Company for a time, in the same regiment. In 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Daniel Whiting's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army. The records of this regiment are confusing as in another record he is credited to Captain Benjamin Bullard's Company, which was later commanded by Captain Thomas Willington. He evidently served as Adjutant in this regiment from January 1st, and on October 1st was promoted to the rank of First Lieutenant. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Joseph Vose's 1st Regiment, Massachusetts Line. In a muster roll for March and April 1779 he was "reported a supernumery officer." Heitman states that he was retired April 1, 1779. Another return dated September 22, 1779 shows that he had been appointed Brigade Quartermaster of the 1st Massachusetts Brigade. This service continued at least until December 31, 1780. He was a resident of Boston at the time of this last service. The only resident of Massachusetts in 1790 bearing this name lived in the town of Attleboro.

FIRST LIEUTENANT THOMAS WILLINGTON (WELLINGTON) of Watertown, son of Thomas and Margaret (Stone) Wellington, was born in Waltham December 2, 1735. July 4, 1756 as a resident of Waltham he served in Captain William Brattle's 1st Middlesex County Regiment on a Crown Point expedition. August 9th of that year he was at Fort William Henry in Captain Timothy Houghton's Company, Colonel Jonathan Bagley's Regiment, having joined from Colonel Brattle's Regiment. May 1, 1775 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Isaac Gray's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he served through the year. In 1776 he was First Lieutenant in Captain Benjamin Bullard's Company, Colonel Asa Whicomb's Regiment, and he held that rank until September 30, 1776, when he replaced Captain Bullard in command of the company. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 13th Regiment, Continental Army, and he served under that officer and his successor, Lieutenant Colonel Calvin Smith, until the date of his retirement April 10, 1779. He was living in Waltham in 1790. He died January 19, 1818.

SECOND LIEUTENANT MATTHIAS MOSMAN (MASSMAN) of Sudbury, was the son of James and Elizabeth (Balcomb) Mosman. He was born in that town March 17, 1748-9. May 4, 1775 he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Aaron Haynes's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and in a company roll dated October 6, 1775 was called Second Lieutenant. July 1, 1778 he was engaged as First Lieutenant in Captain Jacob Haskins's Company, Colonel John Jacob's Light Infantry Regiment, his enlistment to expire January 1, 1779. In the "History of Ashburnham" it is stated that he removed from Sudbury to Hopkinton in 1793. In a sketch of his life in the above named work, we read: "The repeated mention of his name in the records supports the voice of tradition that he was an educated, capable man and that his services were held in high esteem. He was a farmer and surveyor, and many maps, plans and outlines of highways, neatly executed by him are in the possession of Mr. John M. Pratt."

About 1800 he removed to Westminister but subsequently returned to Hopkinton, where he died, November 8, 1819, aged 71 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN PATRICK of Hutchinson (Barre), was born about 1739. April 20, 1775 he enlisted as Ensign in Captain John Black's Company. He served under the same Captain during this year in the Provincial Army and the Army of the United Colonies, and in a return dated probably October 1775 he was called Second Lieutenant in the organization. February 5, 1776 he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain John Bowker's Company, Colonel Josiah Whitney's 2nd Worcester County Regiment. "Lieutenant John Patrick" died in Barre, March 6, 1807, aged 68 years.

SECOND LIEUTENANT JOHN KILBY SMITH was born in Boston December 17, 1753. May 10, 1775 he was engaged to hold the above rank in Captain Lemuel Trescott's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment and he served through the year. During 1776 he held the rank of Second Lieutenant in Captain Lemuel Trescott's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army. November 11, 1776, according to a muster roll made up at Ticonderoga he was Adjutant of this regiment. January 1, 1777 he became First Lieutenant in Colonel Edward Wigglesworth's 13th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and on February 12, 1779 he was promoted Captain. January 1, 1781 he was transferred to the 6th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel-Commandant Calvin Smith, and June 12, 1783 he was again transferred to the 2nd Regiment, Massachusetts Line, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Sprout. He served until November 3, 1783. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, and in the "Memorial" of that organization it is stated that he commanded Shepard's Regiment in the Battle of Monmouth and was Brigade Major. Also that he was at one time aid to Lafayette and was conspicuous in the army for bravery and prudence. He died in Portland, Me., August 7, 1842.

ENSIGN JOHN EMENS held that rank in Captain Edward Blake's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, his name appearing in a list of men recommended in the Committee of Safety June 17, 1775 to be commissioned.

ENSIGN NATHANIEL REEVES of Sudbury marched as Sergeant in Captain Nathaniel Cudworth's Company of Minute Men, Colonel Abijah Pierce's Regiment, on the Lexington alarm of April 19, 1775, serving 5 days. April 24, 1775 he was engaged as Ensign in Captain Thaddeus Russell's Company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, and he held that rank under those officers through the year.

ENSIGN ABRAHAM WILLAMS of Sandwich, was born in that town February 10, 1754. He was the son of the Reverend Abraham and Anna (Buckminister) Williams. In a list of officers of this regiment recommended in Council, September 27, 1775 to General Washington for commissions his name appears as Ensign. During 1776 he was Second Lieutenant in Captain Aaron Haynes's Company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's 6th Regiment, Continental Army. January 1, 1777 he became Captain in Colonel Sameul Brewer's 12th Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and continued service in this regiment under Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Carleton and Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Sprout, and September 29, 1778 was promoted Captain. He continued in this regiment until January 1, 1781 when he was transferred to Lieutenant Colonel Ebenezer Sprout's 2nd Regiment, Massachusetts Line, and he served until November 1783. During this latter year he served as Brigade Major. He was a member of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, and an original member of the "Ohio Company." He died in Sandwich in 1795.

THE WRITING HABIT IN NEW ENGLAND

ALBERT WOODBURY DENNIS

One marvelous thing about New Englanders is their literary habits of mind—or their talent and fondness for putting a thing down in writing. This manifests itself in their inclination to jot down their thoughts in "journals," to keep a diary, to write entertaining letters to personal friends, and scribble rhymes and verse. Many an old grandsire has left among his effects well kept diaries, or an old ledger filled with ambitious attempts at verse, when no one knew this side of his character, or maybe some brave effort at political essays on public questions of the day. Throughout New England it is a common thing to be able to write well. Even men and women who do not follow a vocation which stimulates the mind and developes imaginative genius, write most entertainingly and well. In many sections of the country it is an unusual gift to be able to write for the press, or to write a book, and when it is mentioned of a person that he or she is a "writer," it is as awe inspiring as though it be said he is a "congressman" or a "judge."

It is this propensity for literal expression that must in a large measure account for the well known preeminence of New England men in all fields of literature. The greatest American poets are Poe, Longfellow and Whittier; the greatest novelist or romancer is Hawthorne; the four greatest of American historians are Bancroft, Parkman, Prescott and Motley; the greatest philosopher is admittedly Ralph Waldo Emerson; the greatest of all orators, Daniel Webster; the best literary critic, James Russell Lowell—all New England Men.

In no other part of the country is the propensity to put things down in writing so great as here. From the earliest days it began, and future generations have increased the habit. William Bradford and John Winthrop, the two first governors, started their journals early, and are generally credited with being America's first historians, but it would seem that everybody in any position of authority had the habit and began making materials for future history at the same time they did. The minister of every parish kept a record of the communicants, confessions, marriages, baptisms, births and deaths in his parish. A "clerk of the writs" was elected in every town to keep a correct record of all the vital statistics of the community, and make a duplicate to be put on file with the county clerk. In one of the two oldest counties the county clerk was required to make a third copy for additional file and record.

When the New Englander sold a piece of land he drew a deed and had it recorded; even when he agreed to build a house he drew a contract and often had it recorded; when he went inland on a voyage of discovery he kept a journal; when he shouldered his musket and went on a campaign against the French and Indians he made regular reports to the Treasurer at War of engagements, casualties, rations issued, muster rolls, and discharges; when he went to sea he kept a log book, in which he entered daily events of the voyage, soundings and descriptions of new channels, harbors, and people; every family had its large Bible, in which were entered the name and date of birth of every child, and marriages and deaths in the family; when the head of the house died he wrote a will arranging the disposition of his property down to the family cow and his musket and powderhorn.

Every serious act of a New Englander's life was written down and became a matter of public record. His deeds and other papers are recorded in the registry of deeds; his wills are recorded in the probate office; his military reports are become official documents in the Secretary of State's office; and his log books have come into the hands of the historical societies.

Not only did Bradford and Winthrop realize the significance to history of the journals they were writing, but it seems to be clear that these

early colonists had "empire on the brain" and every one was conscious of the importance of daily events and felt the responsibility of putting in writing and carefully preserving the records of those days.

It is perfectly marvelous to a man from the West, where there are no records at all over 75 years old, or to Southern and Middle-Atlantic-States men, where vital records are generally scattered and fragmentary, or not to be found, to contemplate here a set of old volumes, kept by a "clerk of the writs," filled with the vital statistics of the town (births, marriages and deaths) running back in perfectly consecutive order for nearly 300 years. Not only one, but duplicate and sometimes triplicate sets, copied and preserved with constant care, from the very beginning. Of course this habit of keeping records was one the English settlers brought with them, but not in England or elsewhere, genealogists declare, have such precautionary duplicate records been kept. Besides English entries were made only of the "noble" families. Here the records, with democratic thoroughness, made note of every man, woman and child, regardless of station or family.

Any intelligent person can go to these public records today and trace his grandsire to his great-grandsire, his great-grandsire to his great-great-grandsire, and so on back to the original emigrant or grantee of the family in America.

The many church records, besides, give verification of the vital records; and furnish other interesting information, such as dates of baptisms, of communions, of confessions, of dismissals, etc.

To lawyers the most striking example of this early writing habit is the patient and minute detail in which the evidence in court cases is written out. In all the colonial days these New Englanders kept a complete record of the evidence given by each witness in court. In every case, even petty assault cases, all the evidence is written out with the greatest care. That is the only reason why we have such a minute account of the witchcraft trials. If the evidence in court had been taken as it is today history would be mute in regard to the details of these as well as the famous Quaker trials. In fact it is doubtful if we would know a thing of them, if it were not for

this written testimony. This practice was followed carefully throughout our whole colonial period. Authorities declare that nowhere else in this country or Europe is such a full hand-written record of court testimony handed down to us.

In the days when New England's activities were principally shipping and fishing, and half her population lived on the sea, the skippers found vent for their literary inclinations on the pages of the ship's log book. In ancient "logs" at Salem, New Bedford, Portsmouth, Portland, Newburyport, Newport, Gloucester and Marblehead is an Eldorado mine of rich material which a Cooper or a Mahan may some day smelt into the pages of golden tale. Thousands of voyages are recorded in these old sea journals, which vividly recall a vanished epoch and make it live again. No monotonous accounts of latitude, longitude, wind and weather are they. In thrilling and minute detail they tell of entering the unknown ports of the world, of captivity by pirates, of hair-breadth escapes from cannibals, of deadly actions fought with British and French men-of-war, of weary days spent in English prisons, of exciting chases, engagements and captures in the days of privateering, of trophies brought home from Muscat, Madigascar, Arabia, Luzon, Sumatra, and other ports of the far East. These literary skippers also industriously recorded accounts of trade, soundings of dangerous channels, the habits and traits of the natives, cargoes taken on and cargoes sold, charts of unknown harbors, sketches of coast lines, etc.— with the serious purpose that their observations should "tend to the improvement and security of navigation." With pen and ink they have left their record behind. A record that is simply amazing in its detail and accuracy. In one library at Salem, Mass., there are over 1,000 of these ancient, hand-written volumes, practically untouched by the historical investigator.*

In the archives of the six New England States lie gathered and preserved the most precious collections of old State documents to be found on the continent. In the Massachusetts state house at Boston, besides 240 mammoth volumes of papers pertaining to such subjects as "Indian

*A suggestion of the value of this material can be had by consulting the articles by Ralph D. Paine, which appeared in the Outing Magazine in 1908.

Conferences," "French Neutrals," "Revolutionary Letters," and legislative resolves and messages of about the period of the Revolution, there are endless papers antedating the Revolution by 50 to 100 years. The original papers of the French and Indian wars are there, giving lists of sick soldiers, commissary accounts, bayonet rolls and other details. Back to the "twilight of time" in American history go other documents dealing with "public lands," as early as 1622, "Indian difficulties" in 1639, "maritime" matters in 1641, and with such ancient matters as witchcraft and the care of the Acadian fugitives from the land of Evangeline.

But even now the passion for preservation is not satisfied Many of the records are yellow with age and badly worn. "What shall we do to re-preserve them?" says the New Englander to himself. "We will print them in type," the answer has been, "and distribute copies of the printed work in different libraries, so no flood, fire or disaster of any kind can obliterate them."

Each of the New England state governments has published in indexed form, every scrap and scrimption they have in reference to soldiers and sailors who participated in the war of the revolution.

The State of Massachusetts has entered upon the huge project of subsidizing the publication of the original records of birth, marriage, and death of every individual on record in the books of all the town clerks of the commonwealth (nearly a hundred volumes are completed now), which gives an immense facility and impetus to the further investigation of divergent branches of family lines and individuals. One historical magazine* nine years ago started the sizable task of printing a biographical sketch of every commissioned officer in the revolutionary war from Massachusetts, a project made possible by this printing of the state and town records in alphabetical order.

With such patient practice with the quill and the pen, writing these experiences and making these historical records from generation to generation, what wonder is it that a literary "atmosphere" was created in New

*The Massachusetts Magazine, published at Salem, Mass.

d, and that sons with the gift of happy expression and large bumps of language in the tops of their heads were born there. While they were subduing the forests and accomplishing the rough work of civilization there arose such writers as Franklin, Hutchinson, Edwards and Adams; and what wonder is it that in another generation a multitude of writers appeared who made the writing of books a vocation, or an object of remuneration and that among them should have appeared such transcendant geniuses as Poe, Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, Whittier, Lowell, Webster, and Story?

What wonder is it that with this supreme appreciation of historical values and this faithful habit of making historical record, masters of the art of historiography should have been born in New England to write the great monumental works: Bancrofts *History of the United States*, and Parkman's *France and England in North America*, which will probably stand for all time as exhaustive studies and acknowledged authorities in their respective fields?

What wonder is it that our national history and literature have made the average American boy more familiar with such incidents of New England history as the Boston tea party, the midnight ride of Paul Revere, and Miles Standish's attempt to court Priscilla Mullens, than he is with the history of his own state, and that, therefore, every son or daughter of a New Englander, and every son of a son, or every daughter of a daughter, should look back to New England with particular pride?

What wonder is it that private zeal has produced a history of nearly every *old* town in New England.

What wonder is it that of some 5000 published genealogies of American families extant today, over 80 per cent of them are of New England?

What wonder is it that the descendants of these New Englanders plan historical pilgrimages to Bunker Hill and Lexington, and read up their family to see what part their sires and kinsmen took in that history?

When you make a reconnoissance of this persistent writing habit of the New Englanders, what wonder is it at all?

ALBERT WOODBURY DENNIS.

Criticism & Comment

on Books and Other Subjects

AGAIN in Colonel Jonathan Brewer's Regiment, we see evidence of the great number of soldiers enlisted in the war of the Revolution, who received their initial training in the earlier wars with the French and Indians. On page 149, Dr. Gardner says: "Nineteen of the commissioned officers of this regiment had seen service in the French and Indian wars or in the Provincial Militia."

GENEALOGICAL searchers after the English connection of their American families, should be gratified to know that the enormous collection of as-yet-unprinted genealogical material, collected in England, by Henry Fitzgilbert Waters, and Lothrop Withington, has been acquired by the Essex Institute at Salem. There are over fourteen thousand wills in this collection, and the collection is said to cover more or less fully most of the probate jurisdiction of England, and part of Scotland, Ireland and Wales. In some cases they represent complete files for years at a time. The Institute proposes to have them all bound with chronological and alphabetical arrangement or index, for the genealogical students convenience. The Essex Institute is one of the most gracious, unselfish, and accommodating of all institutions of its kind. Strangers can be sure of all the assistance it has the power to give.

WHERE is the family historian who has not worried over, and vainly sought for the sons and daughters of our old New England families, who left the homes between 1780 and 1850, leaving no trace beyond the tradition that they went "West"? queried Mr. Flagg, in his introduction to his index to Massachusetts pioneers who settled in the State of Michigan:

(See No. 2, Vol. 1, *Massachusetts Magazine*). He located nearly over 1600 sons and daughters of Massachusetts who had settled in that state.

NOW we have compiled an index to Ohio pioneers from Massachusetts, located in the same way. The first installment of this index, will be printed in our January 1917 issue. It has been prepared by Miss Edith Cheney, of the catalogue department of the Library of Congress. She is a daughter of James W. Cheney, librarian of the War Department Library, and the General Staff, U. S. A., and graduated *cum laude* at George Washington University, 1914, with the A. B. and A. M. degrees. Mr. Cheney, it may be added is a son of Massachusetts, born at Newburyport, in 1849, and this it is that probably gave Miss Cheney her enthusiasm for the laborious task she has completed so well.

THE celebration at New Haven this year of the 200th anniversary of one of the many eventful stages in the establishment of Yale College, brought out the interesting fact that Yale is very much of a Boston institution in sentimental associations. Governor Elihu Yale, from whom it derives its name was born in Boston. The charter of Yale was drawn by Judge Sewall of Boston. The ten men who were the first trustees of Yale, were educated in larger Boston—all being graduates of Harvard. Great sympathy and interest in the movement was centered in Boston, because it stood for "stricter theology," and many conservatives of that day did not approve of the liberalism toward which Harvard was tending, even in that early time.

AT an auction sale of autographs, recently held in New York, autograph letters of New England celebrities brought the following prices.

Colonel Ethan Allen, 2 pages	$201.00
General Benedict Arnold	67.50
General Nathaniel Greene, 3 pages	100.00
Henry W. Longfellow, 3 pages	16.00

Edgar Allen Poe	155.00
Edgar Allen Poe, 2 pages	250.00
General Israel Putnam, 2 pages	71.00
Benjamin Franklin, 3 pages	132.50
John Adams, 2 pages	57.50
Nathaniel Hawthorne	22.00

At the same sale, four letters of Abraham Lincoln brought $210.00, $390.00, $550.00 and $460.00.

THE Massachusetts State Library has long been noted for the splendid collection of documents and documentary material, both printed and in manuscript which it contains. It has been known as a source from which special information on historical subjects, both social and political, might readily be obtained, and on account of its age and dignity its prestige among state libraries has been acknowledged. But in the work which it is now doing for the other libraries of the state it has come forward in the most admirable way, and today the organized work of Massachusetts from library extension throughout the Commonwealth is not exceeded in results accomplished by any library commission in the country.—*Public Librarian.*

AFTER twenty-five years of continual sale, running through four editions, the Salem Press Company has just published a much enlarged edition of Winfield S. Nevins' Witchcraft in Salem Village, in new and attractive form.

Their fifth edition contains a very interesting review of the opinion and speculation of many modern writers as to the causes that led to the outbreak in Salem, and as to the natural phenomena of witchcraft in general.

Prof. Barrett Wendell of Harvard is quoted as saying: "There is perhaps reason to doubt whether all the victims of the witch trials were innocent."

Dr. Seymour says: "We all have a vein of superstiton in us. A will laugh to scorn B's belief in witches or ghosts, while he himself would not undertake a piece of business on a Friday for all the wealth of Crœsus; while C, who laughs at both, will offer his hand to the palmist in full assurance of faith."

Regarding Ann Foster of Salem, Prof. Hugo Muensterberg, the great German psychologist, weaves this interesting thread of subtle logic in explanation of her confession: "Yet Ann Foster was not insane; the horror of accusation had overpowered the distressed mind. We should say today that a disassociation of her little mind had set in; the emotional shock brought it about; that the normal personality went to pieces and that a second personality began to form itself.....through the hypnotizing examinations."

A most remarkable conclusion is that of Mr. Allen Putnam, who after long study, wrote in 1880: "Our position, fortified by the facts and reasoning in the preceding pages is, that spirits—departed human beings—generated and outwrought Salem witchcraft." Mr. Nevins knew Mr. Putnam well and says whatever one may think of this opinion, however ridiculous it may appear to others, "it is to be admitted the author of these sentiments was a worthy and honorable citizen, and that he gave most diligent study to all the witchcraft cases in New England."

Samuel Adams Drake, one of the most natural and lovable of all students of New England folk lore, confesses that he "found himself baffled to a degree beyond that of any other event in the whole range of mystery, to account satisfactorily for the conduct of the young females, through whose instrumentality it was carried on. It required more devilish ability to deceive, adroitness to blend the understanding, and to keep up a consciousness of that ability among themselves, than ever fell to the lot of a like number of imposters in any age of which the writer has ever read."

Not the least interesting of the new material in the book is the reference to many cases of witchcraft of recent times. Mr. Nevins has long been recognized as a most diligent student of the subject of witchcraft, as it man-

ifested itself in Salem and vicinity, and his book the standard work on the subject. This new and extensive chapter adds peculiar interest to the new edition.

THE figure of Joseph Putnam has always remained fixed in our mind as one of the most noble and dramatic in the sad tragedy of the witchcraft story. Mr. Nevins does not make much of him or his part in the story, but it has always appeared to us that his courageous outstanding defiance of public opinion in the midst of the insane delirium must have done much towards bringing other men to their senses again. The world pays high honor to its men of fearless and unconquerable will. Martyrs to religion, martyrs to patriotism and martyrs to scientific discovery are extolled as leaders of the world and uplifters of the souls of mankind. All honor to Joseph Putnam, who in the darkest hour, when no man's life was safe, when men of military rank, men of the pulpit, women of highest character and standing, all were sacrificed in the tempest; when if a man dared to enter defense for his own wife, he too could be accused and hung (as was John Proctor)—when, in such a dangerous time, he dared to openly voice his disapproval and condemnation of the proceedings, he exhibited not only his soundness of mind, but all the moral courage and fearlessness of martyrs of song and story. That he measured his words and knew full well the danger of his course is manifest by the fact that he kept his horse saddled and bridled day and night ready to flee at a moment's notice, and himself and family armed to defend his life. This was notice that he did not intend to be taken alive, and it is significant that no attempt was ever made to arrest him.

PRIVATELY printed at the University Press and sent out "with the regards of the author" is a dainty little volume entitled "*Personal Recollections*"—*Robert S. Rantoul.* Mr. Rantoul was born June 2, 1832, and he is now in his 85th year. With a mind as clear as ever he writes most interestingly of prominent persons he has met, and of the changes that have taken place in his day.

The volume is small and the binding is a cream white, an unusual color for a book of reminiscences, but it seems not inappropriate to its contents, which is pervaded by the sunshine of humor, and a cheerful sprightliness throughout. No sore spots are exhibited; no opportunity is made to explain his side of any controversy. Just the glow and cheer of a mind attuned to high thinking and the sunny side of life.

It has that engaging interest which makes one want to carry it with him—keep it in hand until it is finished.

In his earlier years he just escaped being editor-in-chief of the *Boston Transcript*, was in the legislature, was mayor of Salem several terms, was collector of the port of Salem in Lincoln's administration, an accomplished speaker, and orator-of-the-day on numerous formal occasions.

A considerable space is devoted to persons and facts connected with the murder of Captain White at Salem, which is celebrated above many others of like kind by Daniel Webster's connection with the case, as counsel. His plea was one of the great efforts of his career.

Mr. Rantoul's keenly observant mind makes many unimportant parts of his reminiscences the most interesting. Thus he remarks of his first visit to New York in 1854: "New York was a half baked township then. Goats and pigs pervaded the streets and a half dead horse was left lying in full sight across the square for several days....Twenty-third street was nearly staked out, and I dined at one of the half dozen houses just built on the down-in-town side of it"....from there on to Harlem "was nothing but a waste of gravel pits dotted over with the shanties of day laborers and their goat sheds and pig sties....Central park was not dreamed of."

His recital of several years residence in Germany abounds with interesing observations.

And most of his references to celebrated Americans he has met are hit off with realistic details. Among them were John A. Andrew, John Wright, Richard H. Dana, Ralph Waldo Emerson, General Grant, Abraham Lincoln, General Sherman and Daniel Webster.

One is struck by this remark at the close of the volume:

"It remains only to close this retrospect of a long life. If it gave promise of more than it has made good, I may plead that as a race, we mature early."

It is said that toward the end of his life Wendell Phillips expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction with himself, and what he had accomplished in the world—in spite of his imperishable fame as orator and abolitionist.

Mr. Rantoul has been the first citizen of Salem for a score of years; was chief executive officer of the Essex Institute in the most important period of its history—when it regenerated itself with a policy of thorough self-inspection and classification and made itself tenfold more useful to the world than ever it had been before; he has blessed the world with a large and worthy family; and he has enriched the local literature of his city as has no other man in his day.

WITH that faithful quest and intelligent care that only love of the task can inspire, Benjamin J. Lindsey of Marblehead, has sifted the custom house records of Marblehead, Beverly and Salem, Marine insurance records, log books, old newspaper files and other sources, so thoroughly that he believes his attractive volume, "Marblehead Sea Captains and the Ships in Which They Sailed," is very nearly complete, "though the list of vessels is not as satisfactory, it being at this late date practically impossible to obtain complete information."

The records of five hundred hardy sea captains he has compiled, with their date of birth or baptism, and a list of their vessels and year date. From descendants of these men, scattered through Marblehead, Salem, Boston and distant states he has procured copies of old oil paintings, ambrotypes and daguerreotypes of eighty-one of these sea captains, and fifty-eight pictures of their vessels. These with sixteen other documents, maps, and harbor scenes, makes up the total of 155 halftones with which the book is profusely illustrated.

In spite of the thoroughness evidenced by Mr. Lindsey's completed work, it remains true that most of these records are painfully lacking in

detail. Data gleaned from custom house records, and log books, are meagre and bare. But one needs not much gift of imagination in studying the portraits of these strong faces to read into their lives some of the danger and courage of their days. Particularly when he looks at their proud ships, and catches here and there such illuminating scraps of information as the following:

Captain Wm. Stacey, like many another Marblehead boy, was a sailor at a very early age, being on a privateer during the war of 1812, at 15 years of age was captured by the English and taken to Dartmoor Prison, and kept a prisoner for a number of years. At 24 he was in command of a vessel.

Thomas Barker was attacked by pirates while on passage to Balboa with a cargo of fish and oil."

Captain Richard Brown, of the "Rattler" was the Mr. Brown mentioned in Dana's "Two Years Before the Mast," as mate of the "Alert."

Captain Candler served on the Frigate Constitution in the war of 1812.

Captain Hector Cowell Dixey rescued many lives from the burning steamer "Missouri" in mid-ocean.

Josiah Perkins Cressy, was in command of the "Flying Cloud," which twice (1851 and 1854) made the passage from New York to California in 89 days, a record never equalled by any other sailing ship. The merchants of San Francisco, always generous and hospitable vied with each other to do him honor. Upon his return to New York, a banquet was given him, at the Astor House.

Captain Joseph Orne, and all his men were slaughtered by Arabs and his ship "Essex" plundered and burnt at Hadido, near Mocha.

"Captured and committed to old Mill Prison, England," appears many times through the pages.

Nearly all of the pictures were taken from originals that have never been in print before.

But one of the 500 captains is alive today: Captain John D. Whidden, now living in Los Angeles, California.

It is a most valuable work for his town, and for descendants of old Marblehead everywhere, which Mr. Lindsey has performed.

THE diarist, Dr. William Bentley, referring to the death of Captain John D. Dennis, "who died 15inst (Sept. 1816) at Marblehead, at 77, was President of the Marblehead Marine Society and much respected," paid the following tribute to the sturdy character of these Marblehead seamen, many of whom were still living, some even in their prime, at that time:

The many aged muscular men in Marblehead discovers the true character of their employment. No men endure fatigue longer, and have more presence of mind in danger, in things they propose, and when under their command. Such are their habits in the fishery..... They make often troublesome merchants, and they make awkward soldiers. But no men are equal to them in things which they know how to do from habit. No one more persevering or so fearless."

EDGAR JAMES BANKS, Ph. D., son of Massachusetts, archaeological explorer, field director of Babylonian expeditions for the University of Chicago, discoverer of the white statue of King David, a king who reigned before the time of Babylonia, some 6000 years ago, probably the oldest statue known to man today,—has written a wonderfully interesting book entitled "The Seven Wonders of the World." It is astonishing to see how much modern science has discovered, literally unearthed, about these creations of man's hand, so old that the latest encyclopedias are able to tell us almost nothing of their history. Mr. Banks was born in Sunderland, Mass. The book is published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York; price $1.50.

ON an evening in the middle of August, 1862, at a large meeting in this city, Josiah Quincy took a newspaper cutting from his pocket and read before an enthusiastic audience "the latest poem written by Mr. William Cullen Bryant." The poem was "We are coming, Father Abraham," which was set to music immediately, upon the order of a Boston publisher, by the late Dr. Luther Orlando Emerson.

Others also set the stirring lines to music, and among the composers was one of the famous Hutchinson family of singers of Lynn who rendered valuable services as aids to recruiting through much of the war period. A mutual friend one day told Jesse Hutchinson that the song was written,

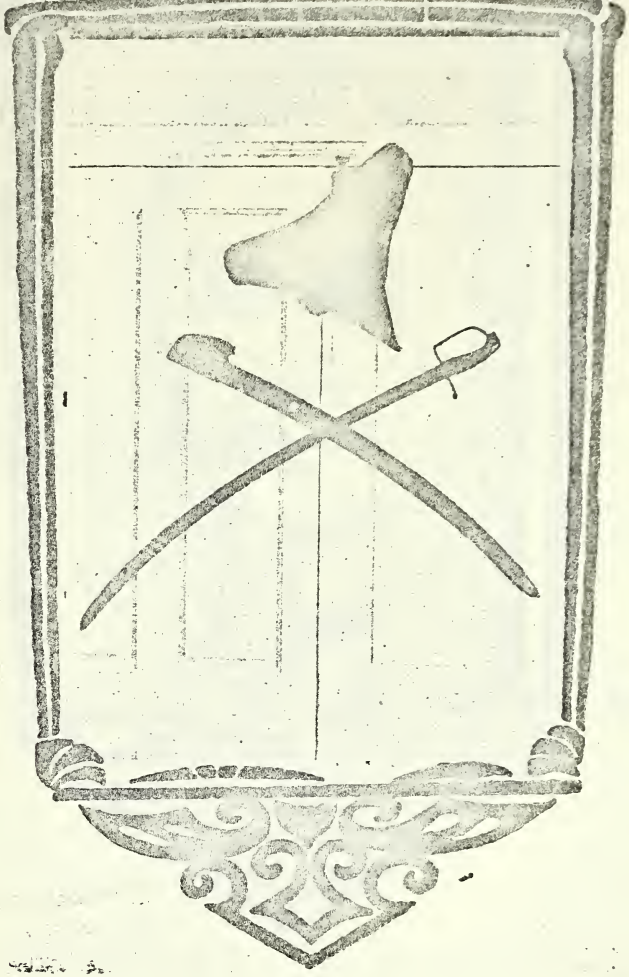
not by Bryant, but by his old Quaker friend, Gibbons. The singer hesitated a minute and then remarked: "Well we'll keep the name Bryant as we have it; he's better known than Gibbons."

The mistake came about in this way, the verses appeared anonymously in the *New York Evening Post* of July 16, 1862; no author's name was mentioned; William Cullen Bryant was then the editor of the newspaper; the lines naturally enough were promptly attributed to him. The several composers who set the verses to music supposed that Bryant was the writer, and such incidents as those recounted above helped to create the mistaken impression which has persisted until this day. The error was repeated in the Emerson obituaries which appeared in *The Herald* and other papers and which were presumed to be authentic by those who commented upon the influence which the song exerted in war time. Even such a reference work as "Who's Who" ascribe the poem to Bryant.

The story of John S. Gibbons is interesting. He was a Hicksite Quaker, described by his son-in-law as "having a reasonable leaning toward wrath in cases of emergency." He joined the abolition movement in 1830, married the daughter of the Quaker philantropist, Isaac T. Hopper, in 1833, and became known as a writer upon financial topics, serving for a time as financial editor of the *Evening Post.* At the outbreak of the war his wife and oldest daughter went to the front for hospital service. While they were absent the riots of 1863 occurred, and the home in New York was sacked; the father and the younger daughters took refuge in a neighboring house, and thence escaped over the roofs to a point where Joseph H. Choate had a carriage awaiting them. The mob marked the Gibbons' home for this attention because it had been illuminated when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

It was in the dark days of 1862 that Lincoln asked for 300,000 volunteers. Gibbons was then in the habit of taking long walks for meditations, and he says that as he walked he "began to con over a song. The words seemed to fall into ranks and files and to come with a measured step. Directly would came along a file of soldiers with fife and drum and that helped matters amazingly. I began to keep step myself." Thus in the course of several evenings was composed the recruiting lyric, "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong."

The correspondent of *The Herald* whose husband stood by the President while some troops sang the song will be interested also to know that Brander Matthews refers to an account of Lincoln's coming down to the Red Room in the White House one morning to "listen with bowed head and patient, pensive eyes while one of a party of visitors" sang the verses—*Boston Herald.*



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